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AKBAR SHAH
1836.

MIRZA SAL
the
EMPERORS S

KUREEM KHAN,
who shot Mr Fraser at Delhi

OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC

SHUMSHOODEEN

RAMBLES

AND

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

AN INDIAN OFFICIAL.

B 508

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. H. SLEEMAN,

OF THE BENGAL ARMY.

"The proper study of mankind is man."

POPE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

PINDAREE SYSTEM—CHARACTER OF THE MAHRATTA ADMINISTRATION—CAUSE OF THEIR DISLIKE TO THE PARAMOUNT POWER.

THE attempt of the Marquis of Hastings to rescue India from that dreadful scourge, the Pindaree system, involved him in a war with all the great Mahratta states except Gwalior; that is, with the Peshwa at Poonah, Holcar at Indore, and the Ghosla at Nagpore; and Gwalior was prevented from joining the other states in their unholy league against us, only by the presence of the grand division of the army under the personal command of the marquis, in the immediate vicinity of his capital. It was not that these chiefs liked the Pindarees, or felt any interest in their welfare; but because they were always anxious to crush that rising paramount authority, which had the power, and had always manifested the will, to interpose and prevent the free indulgence of their predatory habits—the free exercise of that weapon, a

standing army, which the disorders incident upon the decline and fall of the Mahomedan empire had put into their hands; and which a continued series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours could alone enable them to pay or keep under control. They seized with avidity any occasion of quarrel with the paramount power which seemed likely to unite them all in one great effort to shake it off; and they are still prepared to do the same, because they feel that they could easily extend their depredations if that power were withdrawn; and they know no other road to wealth and glory but such successful depredations. Their ancestors rose by them, their states were formed by them, and their armies have been maintained by them. They look back upon them for all that seems to them honourable in the history of their families. Their bards sing of them in all their marriage and funeral processions; and as their imaginations kindle at the recollection, they detest the arm that is extended to defend the wealth and the industry of the surrounding territories from their grasp. As the industrious classes acquire and display their wealth in the countries around, during a long peace, under a strong and settled government, these native chiefs, with their little disorderly armies, feel precisely as an English country gentleman would feel with a pack of fox-hounds, in a country swarming with foxes, and without the privilege of hunting them.

Their armies always took the auspices and set out

kingdom taking (Moolk Geeree) after the Duseyra, in November, every year, as regularly as English gentlemen go partridge shooting on the 1st of September; and I may here give as a specimen, the excursion of Jean Baptiste Feloze, who sallied forth on such an expedition, at the head of a division of Scindhea's army, just before this Pindara war commenced. From Gwalior he proceeded to Kurowlee, and took from the chief of that territory the district of Subulghur, yielding four lacks of rupees yearly. He then took the territory of the Rajah of Chundeylee, Morepylad, one of the oldest of the Bundelcund chiefs, which then yielded about seven lacks of rupees, but now yields only four. The Rajah got an allowance of forty thousand rupees a year. He then took the territories of the Rajahs of Ragooghur and Bujrungur, yielding three lacks a year; and Bahadergur yielding two lacks a year; and the three princes get fifty thousand rupees a year for subsistence among them. He then took Lopar, yielding two lacks and a half, and assigned the Rajah twenty-five thousand. He then took Gurha Kotah, whose chief gets subsistence from our government. Baptiste had just completed his kingdom-taking expedition, when our armies took the field against the Pindarees; and on the termination of that war, in 1817, all these acquisitions were confirmed and guaranteed to his master, Scindhea, by our government. It cannot be supposed that either he or his army can ever feel any great attachment towards a paramount

authority, that has the power and the will to interpose, and prevent their indulging in such sporting excursions as these, or any great disinclination to take advantage of any occasion that may seem likely to unite all the native chiefs in a common effort to crush it. The Nepalese have the same feeling as the Mahrattas in a still stronger degree, since their kingdom-taking excursions had been still greater and more successful; and being all soldiers from the same soil, they were easily persuaded, by a long series of successful aggressions, that their courage was superior to that of all other men.*

In the year 1833, the Gwalior territory yielded a net revenue to the treasury of ninety-two lacks of rupees, after disbursing all the local costs of the civil and fiscal administration of the different districts, in officers, establishments, charitable institutions, religious endowments, military fiefs, &c. In the remote districts, which are much infested by the pre-

* On the coronation or installation of every new prince of the house of Scindhea, orders are given to plunder a few shops in the town as a part of the ceremony; and this they call or consider "taking the auspices." Compensation is *supposed* to be made to the proprietors, but rarely is made. I believe the same auspices are taken at the installation of a new prince of every other Mahratta house. The Mogul invaders of India were, in the same manner, obliged to allow their armies to *take the auspices* in the sack of a few towns, though they had surrendered without resistance. They were given up to pillage as a *religious duty!* Even the accomplished Baber was obliged to concede this privilege to his army.

datory tribes of Bheels, and in consequence badly peopled and cultivated, the net revenue is estimated to be about one-third of the gross collections; but in the districts near the capital, which are tolerably well cultivated, the net revenue brought to the treasury is about five-sixths of the gross collections; and these collections are equal to the whole annual rent of the land: for every man by whom the land is held or cultivated is a mere tenant at will, liable every season to be turned out, to give place to any other man that may offer more for the holding. There is nowhere to be seen upon the land any useful or ornamental work, calculated to attach the people to the soil, or to their villages; and as hardly any of the recruits for the regiments are drawn from the peasantry of the country, the agricultural classes have nowhere any feeling of interest in the welfare or existence of the government. I am persuaded that there is not a single village in all the Gwalior dominions in which nine-tenths of the people would not be glad to see that government destroyed, under the persuasion, that they could not possibly have a worse, and would be very likely to find a better.

The present force at Gwalior consists of three regiments of infantry, under Colonel Alexander; six under the command of Apajee, the adopted son of the late Bala Bae; eleven under Colonel Jacobs and his son; five under Colonel Jean Baptiste Feloze; two under the command of the Mamoo Sahib, the maternal uncle of the Maha Rajah; three

in what is called Baboo Bowlee's camp; in all thirty regiments, consisting, when complete, of six hundred men each, with four field-pieces. The Jinsee, or artillery, consists of two hundred guns of different calibre. There are but few corps of cavalry, and these are not considered very efficient, I believe.

Robbers and murderers of all descriptions have always been in the habit of taking the field in India immediately after the festival of the Duseyra, at the end of October, from the sovereign of a state at the head of his armies, down to the leader of a little band of pickpockets from the corner of some obscure village. All invoke the Deity, and take the auspices to ascertain his will, nearly in the same way; and all expect that he will guide them successfully through their enterprises, as long as they find the omens favourable. No one among them ever dreams that his undertaking can be less acceptable to the Deity than that of another, provided he gives him the same due share of what he acquires in his thefts, his robberies, or his conquests, in sacrifices and offerings upon his shrines, and in donations to his priests. Nor does the robber often dream that he shall be considered a less respectable citizen by the circle in which he moves than the soldier, provided he spends his income as liberally, and discharges all his duties in his relations with them as well; and this he generally does to secure their good will, whatever may be the character of his depredations upon distant circles of society and communities. The man who returned

to Oude, or Rohilcund, after a campaign under a Pindaree chief, was as well received as one who returned after serving one under Scindhea, Holcar, or Runjeet Sing. A friend of mine one day asked a leader of a band of Dacoits, or banditti, whether they did not often commit murder. "God forbid," said he, "that we should ever commit murder; but if people choose to oppose us, we of course *strike and kill;* but you do the same. I hear that there is now a large assemblage of troops in the upper provinces going to take foreign countries; if they are opposed, they will kill people. We only do the same!" The history of the rise of every nation in the world unhappily bears out the notion that princes are only robbers upon a large scale, till their ambition is curbed by a balance of power among nations.

On the 25th we came on to Dhumeela, fourteen miles, over a plain, with the range of sandstone hills on the left, receding from us to the west; and that on the right receding still more to the east. Here and there were some insulated hills, of the same formation, rising abruptly from the plain to our right. All the villages we saw were built upon masses of this sandstone rock, rising abruptly at intervals from the surface of the plain, in horizontal strata. These hillocks afford the people stone for building, and great facilities for defending themselves against the inroads of freebooters. There is not, I suppose, in the world, finer stone for building than these sandstone hills afford; and we passed a great many carts

carrying them off to distant places, in slabs or flags from ten to sixteen feet long, two to three feet wide, and six inches thick. They are white, with very minute pink spots, and of a texture so very fine, that they would be taken for indurated clay, on a slight inspection. The houses of the poorest peasants are here built of this beautiful freestone, which, after two hundred years, looks as if it had been quarried only yesterday.

About three miles from our tents we crossed over the little river Ghorapuchar, flowing over a bed of this sandstone. The soil all the way very light, and the cultivation scanty and bad. Except within the enclosures of men's houses, scarcely a tree to be anywhere seen to give shelter and shade to the weary traveller; and we could find no ground for our camp with a shrub to shelter man or beast. All are swept away to form gun-carriages for the Gwalior artillery, with a philosophical disregard to the comforts of the living, the repose of the dead, who planted them with a view to a comfortable berth in the next world, and to the will of the gods to whom they are dedicated. There is nothing left upon the land, of animal or vegetable life, to animate or enrich it; nothing of stock but what is necessary to draw from the soil an annual crop, and which looks to one harvest for its entire return. The sovereign proprietor of the soil lets it out by the year, in farms or villages, to men who depend entirely upon the year's return for the means of payment. He, in his turn, lets the lands in detail

to those who till them, and who depend for their subsistence, and for the means of paying their rents, upon the returns of the single harvest. There is no manufacture anywhere to be seen, save of brass pots and rude cooking utensils; no trade or commerce, save in the transport of the rude produce of the land, to the great camp at Gwalior, upon the backs of bullocks, for want of roads fit for wheeled carriages. No one resides in the villages, save those whose labour is indispensably necessary to the rudest tillage, and those who collect the dues of government, and are paid upon the lowest possible scale. Such is the state of the Gwalior territories in every part of India where I have seen them. The miseries and misrule of the Oude, Hydrabad, and other Mahomedan governments, are heard of everywhere, because there are, under those governments, a middle and higher class upon the land to suffer and proclaim them; but those of the Gwalior state are never heard of, because no such classes are ever allowed to grow up upon the land. Had Russia governed Poland, and Turkey Greece, in the way that Gwalior has governed her conquered territories, we should never have heard of the wrongs of the one or the other.

In my morning's ride, the day before I left Gwalior, I saw a fine leopard standing by the side of the most frequented road, and staring at every one who passed. It was held by two men, who sat by and talked to it as if it had been a human being. I thought it was an animal for show, and I was about

to give them something, when they told me that they were servants of the Maha Rajah, and were training the leopard to bear the sight and society of man. "It had," they said, "been caught about three months ago in the jungles, where it could never bear the sight of man, or of any animal that it could not prey upon; and must be kept upon the most frequented road till quite tamed. Leopards taken when very young would," they said, "do very well as pets, but never answered for hunting; a good leopard for hunting must, before taken, be allowed to be a season or two providing for himself, and living upon the deer he takes in the jungles and plains."

CHAPTER II.

DHOLEPORE, CAPITAL OF THE JAT CHIEFS OF GOHUD—CONSEQUENCE OF OBSTACLES TO THE PROSECUTION OF ROBBERS.

On the morning of the 26th we sent on one tent, with the intention of following it in the afternoon; but about three o'clock a thunder-storm came on so heavily, that I was afraid that which we occupied would come down upon us; and putting my wife and child in a palankeen, I took them to the dwelling of an old Byragee, about two hundred yards from us. He received us very kindly, and paid us many compliments about the honour we had conferred upon him. He was a kind and, I think, a very good old man, and had six disciples who seemed to reverence him very much. A large stone image of Hoonoomăn, the monkey god, painted red, and a good store of buffalos, very comfortably sheltered from the "pitiless storm," were in an inner court. The peacocks in dozens sought shelter under the walls and in the tree

that stood in the courtyard; and I believe that they would have come into the old man's apartments had they not seen our white faces there. I had a great deal of talk with him, but did not take any notes of it. These old Byragees, who spend the early and middle periods of life as disciples in pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of their god Vishnu, in all parts of India, and the latter part of it as high priests or apostles, in listening to the reports of the numerous disciples employed in similar wanderings, are perhaps the most intelligent men in the country. They are from all the castes and classes of society. The lowest Hindoo may become a Byragee, and the very highest are often tempted to become so; the service of the god to which they devote themselves levelling all distinctions. Few of them can write or read, but they are shrewd observers of men and things, and often exceedingly agreeable and instructive companions to those who understand them and can make them enter into unreserved conversation. Our tent stood out the storm pretty well, but we were obliged to defer our march till next day. On the afternoon of the 27th, we went on twelve miles, over a plain of deep alluvion, through which two rivers have cut their way to the Chumbul; and, as usual, the ravines along their banks are deep, long, and dreary.

About half way we were overtaken by one of the heaviest showers of rain I ever saw; it threatened us from neither side, but began to descend from

an apparently small bed of clouds directly over our heads, which seemed to spread out on every side as the rain fell, and fill the whole vault of heaven with one dark and dense mass. The wind changed frequently; and in less than half an hour the whole surface of the country over which we were travelling was under water. This dense mass of clouds passed off in about two hours to the east; but twice, when the sun opened and beamed divinely upon us in a cloudless sky to the west, the wind changed suddenly round, and rushed back angrily from the east, to fill up the space which had been quickly rarified by the genial heat of its rays, till we were again enveloped in darkness, and began to despair of reaching any human habitation before night. Some hail fell among the rain, but not large enough to hurt any one. The thunder was loud and often startling to the strongest nerves; and the lightning vivid and almost incessant. We managed to keep the road because it was merely a beaten pathway below the common level of the country, and we could trace it by the greater depth of the water, and the absence of all shrubs and grass. All roads in India soon become water-courses—they are nowhere metalled; and, being left for four or five months every year without rain, their soil is reduced to powder by friction, and carried off by the winds over the surrounding country. I was on horseback, but my wife and child were secure in a good palankeen that sheltered them from the rain. The bearers were

obliged to move with great caution and slowly, and I sent on every person I could spare that they might *keep moving*, for the cold blast blowing over their thin and wet clothes seemed intolerable to those who were idle. My child's playmate, Gholab, a lad of about ten years of age, resolutely kept by the side of the palankeen, trotting through the water with his teeth chattering as if he had been in an ague. The rain at last ceased, and the sky in the west cleared up beautifully about half an hour before sunset. Little Gholab threw off his stuffed and quilted vest, and got a good dry English blanket to wrap round him from the palankeen. We soon after reached a small village, in which I treated all who had remained with us to as much coarse sugar (goor) as they could eat; and as people of all castes can eat of sweetmeats from the hands of confectioners without prejudice to their caste, and this sugar is considered to be the best of all good things for guarding against colds in man or beast, they all ate very heartily, and went on in high spirits. As the sun sank before us on the left, a bright moon shone out upon us from the right, and about an hour after dark we reached our tents on the north bank of the Kooaree river, where we found an excellent dinner for ourselves, and good fires, and good shelter for our servants. Little rain had fallen near the tents, and the river Kooaree, over which we had to cross, had not fortunately much swelled; nor did much fall on the ground we had left; and as the tents there had been

struck and laden before it came on, they came up the next morning early, and went on to our next ground.

On the 28th, we went on to Dholepore, the capital of the Jât chiefs of Gohud, on the left bank of the Chumbul, over a plain with a variety of crops, but not one that requires two seasons to reach maturity. The soil excellent in quality and deep, but not a tree anywhere to be seen, nor any such thing as a work of ornament or general utility of any kind. We saw the fort of Dholepore at a distance of six miles, rising apparently from the surface of the level plain; but in reality situated on the summit of the opposite and high bank of a large river, its foundation at least one hundred feet above the level of the water. The immense pandemonia of ravines that separated us from this fort, were not visible till we began to descend into them some two or three miles from the bed of the river. Like all the ravines that border the rivers in these parts, they are naked, gloomy, and ghastly, and the knowledge that no solitary traveller is ever safe in them, does not tend to improve the impression they make upon us. The river is a beautiful clear stream, here flowing over a bed of fine sand with a motion so gentle, that one can hardly conceive it is she who has played such *fantastic tricks* along the borders, and made such "frightful gashes" in them. As we passed over this noble reach of the river Chumbul in a ferry-boat, the boatman told us of the magnificent bridge formed here by the Byza Bae for Lord William Bentinck in the year 1832, from

boats brought down from Agra for the purpose. "Little," said they, "did it avail her with the Governor-general in her hour of need!"

The town of Dholepore lies some short way in from the north bank of the Chumbul, at the extremity of a range of sandstone hills which runs diagonally across that of Gwalior. This range was once capped with basalt, and some boulders are still found upon it in a state of rapid decomposition. It was quite refreshing to see the beautiful mango groves on the Dholepore side of the river, after passing through a large tract of country in which no tree of any kind was to be seen. On returning from a long ride over the range of sandstone hills the morning after we reached Dholepore, I passed through an encampment of camels taking rude iron from some mines in the hills to the south towards Agra. They waited here within the frontier of a native state for a pass from the Agra custom-house, lest any one should, after they enter our frontier, pretend that they were going to smuggle it, and thus get them into trouble. "Are you not," said I, "afraid to remain here so near the ravines of the Chumbul, where thieves are said to be so numerous?" "Not at all," replied they. "I suppose thieves do not think it worth while to steal rude iron?" "Thieves, sir, think it worth their while to steal anything they can get, but we do not fear them much here." "Where then do you fear them much?" "We fear them when we get into the Company's territories." "And how

is this, when we have good police establishments, and the Dholepore people none?" "When the Dholepore people get hold of a thief, they make him disgorge all that he has got of our property *for us*, and they confiscate all the rest that he has *for themselves;* and cut off his nose or his hands, and turn him adrift to deter others. You, on the contrary, when you get hold of a thief, worry us to death in the prosecution of your courts; and when we have proved the robbery to your satisfaction, you leave all this ill-gottten wealth to his family, and provide him with good food and clothing yourselves, while he works for you a couple of years on the roads. The consequence is, that here fellows are afraid to rob a traveller if they find him at all on his guard, as we generally are; while in your districts they rob us where and when they like." "But, my friends, you are sure to recover what we do get of your property from the thieves." "Not quite sure of that neither," said they; "for the greater part is generally absorbed on its way back to us through the officers of your court; and we would always rather put up with the first loss, than run the risk of a greater by prosecution, if we happen to get robbed within the Company's territories." The loss and annoyance to which prosecutors and witnesses are subject in our courts, are a source of very great evil to the country. They enable police officers everywhere to grow rich upon the concealment of crimes. The man who has been robbed will bribe them to conceal the

robbery, that he may escape the further loss of the prosecution in our courts, generally very distant; and the witnesses will bribe them, to avoid attending to give evidence; the whole village communities bribe them, because every man feels that they have the power of getting him summoned to the court in some capacity or other if they like; and that they will certainly like to do so if not bribed. The obstacles which our system opposes to the successful prosecution of robbers of all denominations and descriptions, deprive our government of all popular support in the administration of criminal justice; and this is considered everywhere to be the worst, and indeed the only radically bad feature of our government. No magistrate hopes to get a final conviction against one in four of the most atrocious gang of robbers and murderers of his district, and his only resource is in the security laws which enable him to keep them in a jail under a requisition of security for short periods. To this an idle or apathetic magistrate will not have recourse; and under him these robbers have a free license.

In England, a judicial acquittal does not send back the culprit to follow the same trade in the same field as in India; for the published proceedings of the court bring down upon him the indignation of society—the moral and religious feelings of his fellow men are arrayed against him, and from these salutary checks no flaw in the indictment can save him. Not so in India. There no moral or religious feelings in-

terpose to assist or to supply the deficiencies of the penal law. Provided he eats, drinks, smokes, marries, and makes his offerings to his priest according to the rules of his caste, the robber and the murderer incurs no odium in the circle in which he moves, either religious or moral, and this is the only circle for whose feelings he has any regard.

The man who passed off his bad coin at Duteea, passed off more at Dholepore while my advanced people were coming in, pretending that he wanted things for me, and was in a great hurry to be ready with them at my tents by the time I came up. The bad rupees were brought to a native officer of my guard, who went with the shopkeepers in search of the knave, but he could nowhere be found. The gates of the town were shut up all night at my suggestion, and in the morning every lodging-house in the town was searched for him in vain—he had gone on. I had left some sharp men behind me, expecting that he would endeavour to pass off his bad money immediately after my departure; but in expectation of this he was now evidently keeping a little in advance of me. I sent on some men with the shopkeepers whom he had cheated to our next stage, in the hope of overtaking him; but he had left the place before they arrived without passing any of his bad coin, and gone on to Agra. The shopkeepers could not be persuaded to go any further after him, for if they caught him, they should, they said, have infinite trouble in prosecuting him in our

courts, without any chance of recovering from him what they had lost!

On the 29th, we remained at Dholepore to receive and return the visits of the young Rajah, or, as he is called, the young Rana, a lad of about fifteen years of age, very plain, and very dull. He came about ten o'clock in the forenoon with a very respectable and well-dressed retinue, and a tolerable show of elephants and horses. The uniforms of his guards were made after those of our own soldiers, and did not please me half so much as those of the Duteea guards, who were permitted to consult their own tastes; and the music of the drums and fifes seemed to me infinitely inferior to that of the mounted minstrels of my old friend Pareechut. The lad had with him about a dozen old public servants entitled to chairs, some of whom had served his father above thirty years; while the ancestors of others had served his grandfathers and great grandfathers, and I could not help telling the lad in their presence, "That these were the greatest ornament of a prince's throne, and the best signs and pledges of a good government." They were all evidently much pleased at the compliment, and I thought they deserved to be pleased, from the good character they bore among the peasantry of the country. I mentioned that I had understood the boatman of the Chumbul at Dholepore never caught or ate fish. The lad seemed embarrassed, and the minister took upon himself to reply, "That there was no market for it, since the

Hindoos of Dholepore never ate fish, and the Mahomedans had all disappeared." I asked the lad, "Whether he was fond of hunting?" He seemed again confounded; and the minister said, "That his highness never either hunted or fished, as people of his caste were prohibited from destroying life." "And yet," said I, "they have often showed themselves good soldiers in battle." They were all pleased again, and said, "That they were not prohibited from killing tigers; but that there was no jungle of any kind near Dholepore, and, consequently, no tigers to be found." The Jâts are descendants of the Getae, and were people of very low caste, or rather of no caste at all among the Hindoos; and they are now trying to raise themselves by abstaining from eating and killing animals. Among Hindoos this is everything; a man of low caste is a man who "sub kooch khata," sticks at nothing in the way of eating; and a man of high caste, is a man who abstains from eating anything but vegetable or farinaceous food: if at the same time he abstains from using in his cook-room all woods but one, and has that one washed before he uses it, he is canonized. Having attained to military renown and territorial dominion, in the usual way, by robbery, the Jâts naturally enough seek the distinction of high caste, to enable them the better to enjoy their position in society. It had been stipulated that I should walk to the bottom of the steps to receive the Rana, as is the usage on such occasions, and carpets were accordingly

spread thus far. Here he got out of his chair, and I led him into the large room of the bungalow, which we occupied during our stay, followed by all his and my attendants. The bungalow had been built by the former British resident at Gwalior, the Honourable R. Cavendish, for his residence during the latter part of the rains when Gwalior is considered to be unhealthy. At his departure, the Rana purchased this bungalow for the use of European gentlemen and ladies passing through his capital.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, I went to return his visit, in a small palace not yet finished, a pretty piece of miniature fortification, surrounded by what they call their chownee, or cantonments. The streets are good, and the buildings neat and substantial; but there is nothing to strike or particularly interest the stranger. The interview passed off without anything remarkable; and I was more than ever pleased with the people by whom this young chief is surrounded. Indeed, I had much reason to be pleased with the manners of all the people on this side of the Chumbul. They are those of a people well pleased to see English gentlemen among them, and anxious to make themselves useful and agreeable to us. They know that their chief is indebted to the British government for all the country he has, and that he would be swallowed up by Scindhea's greedy army were not the sevenfold shield of the honourable Company spread over him. His establishments, civil and military, like those of the Bun-

delcund chiefs, are raised from the peasantry and yeomanry of the country; who all, in consequence, feel an interest in the prosperity and independent respectability of their chief. On the Gwalior side, the members of all the public establishments know and feel, that it is we who interpose and prevent their master from swallowing up all his neighbours, and thereby having increased means of promoting their interest and that of their friends; and they detest us all most cordially in consequence. The peasantry of the Gwalior territories seem to consider their own government a kind of minotaur, which they would be glad to see destroyed, no matter how or by whom; since it gives no lucrative or honourable employment to any of their members, so as to interest either their pride or their affections; nor throws back among them for purposes of local advantage, any of the produce of their land and labour which it exacts. It is worthy of remark, that though the Dholepore chief is peculiarly the creature of the British government, and indebted to it for all he has or ever will have, and though he has never had anything, and never can have or can hope to have anything, from the poor pageant of the house of Tymour, who now sits on the throne of Delhi,—yet on his seal of office he declares himself to be the slave and creature of that imperial "*warrior for the faith* of Islam." As he abstains from eating the good fish of the river Chumbul to enhance his claim to caste among Hindoos, so he abstains from acknow-

ledging his deep debt of gratitude to the honourable Company, or the British government, with a view to give the rust of age to his rank and title—to acknowledge himself a creature of the British government, were to acknowledge that he was a man of yesterday —to acknowledge himself the slave of the Emperor, is to claim for his poor veins "the blood of a line of kings." The petty chiefs of Bundelcund, who are in the same manner especially dependent on the British government, do the same thing.

At Dholepore, there are some noble old mosques and mausoleums built three hundred years ago, in the reign of the Emperor Hoomaeon, by some great officers of his government, whose remains still rest undisturbed among them, though the names of their families have been for many ages forgotten, and no men of their creed now live near to demand for them the respect of the living. These tombs are all elaborately built and worked out of the fine freestone of the country; and the trellis work upon some of their stone screens, is still as beautiful as when first made. There are Persian and Arabic inscriptions upon all of them; and I found from them that one of the mosques had been built by the Emperor Shah Jehan in A. D. 1634, when he little dreamed that his three sons would here meet to fight the great fight for the throne, while he yet sat upon it.

CHAPTER III.

INFLUENCE OF ELECTRICITY ON VEGETATION—AGRA AND ITS BUILDINGS.

On the 30th and 31st, we went twenty-four miles over a dry plain, with a sandy soil covered with excellent crops where irrigated, and very poor ones where not. We met several long strings of camels carrying grain from Agra to Gwalior. A single man takes charge of twenty or thirty, holding the bridle of the first, and walking on before its nose. The bridles of all the rest are tied one after the other to the saddles of those immediately before them, and all move along after the leader in single file. Water must tend to attract and to impart to vegetables a good deal of electricity and other vivifying powers that would otherwise lie dormant in the earth at a distance from their roots. The mere circumstance of moistening the earth from within reach of the roots, would not be sufficient to account for the vast difference between the crops of fields

that are irrigated, and those that are not. One day, in the middle of the season of the rains, I asked my gardener, while walking with him over my grounds, how it was that some of the fine clusters of bamboos had not yet begun to throw out their shoots. "We have not yet had a thunder-storm, sir," replied the gardener. "What in the name of God has the thunder-storm to do with the shooting of the bamboos?" asked I in amazement. "I don't know, sir," said he, "but certain it is, that no bamboos begin to throw out their shoots well till we get a good deal of thunder and lightning." The thunder and lightning came, and the bamboo shoots soon followed in abundance. It might have been a mere coincidence; or the tall bamboos may bring down from the passing clouds and convey to the roots the electric fluid they require for nourishment, or for conductors of nourishment.* In the Isle of France, people have a notion that the mushrooms always come up best after a thunder-storm. Electricity has certainly much more to do in the business of the world than we are yet aware of, in the animal, mineral, and vegetable developements.

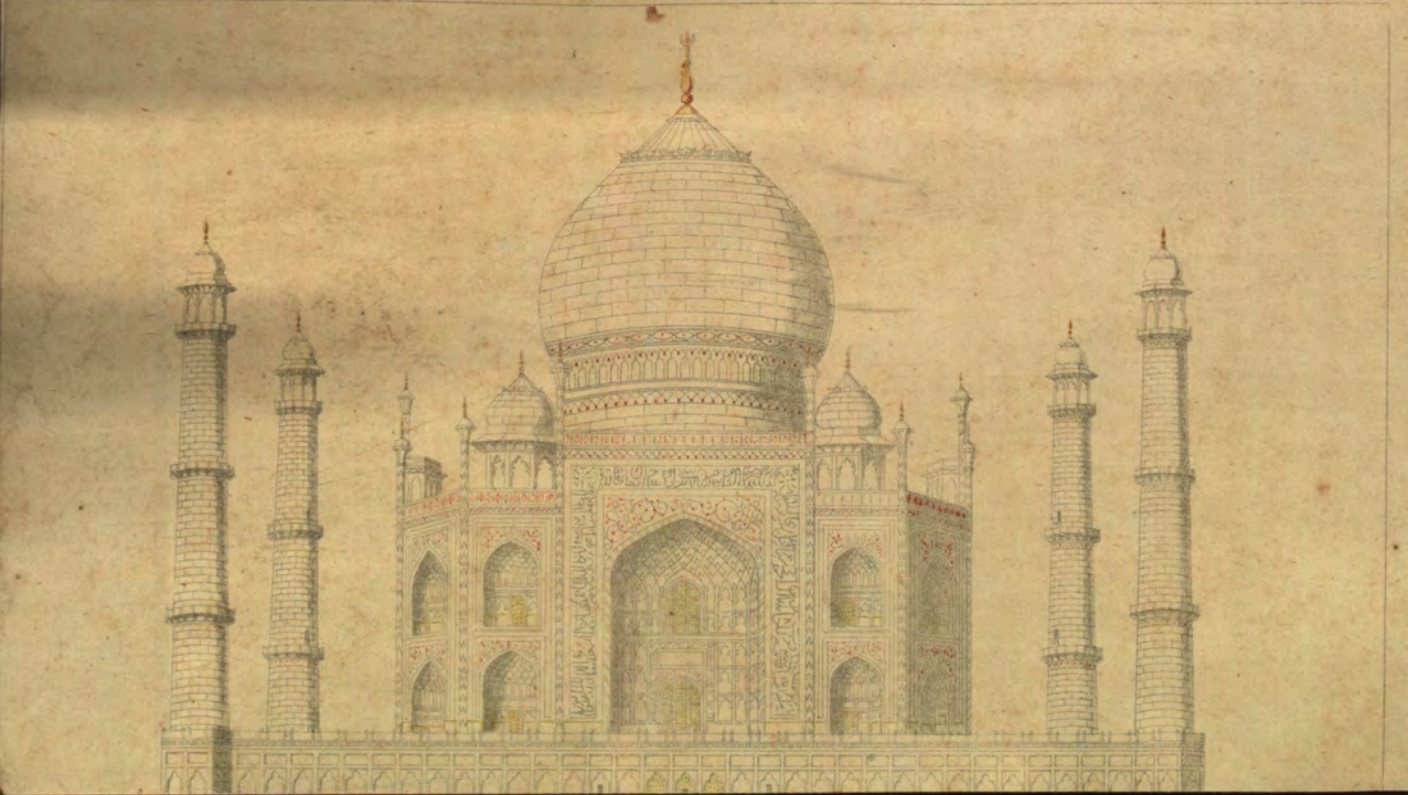
At our ground this day, I met a very respectable and intelligent native revenue officer

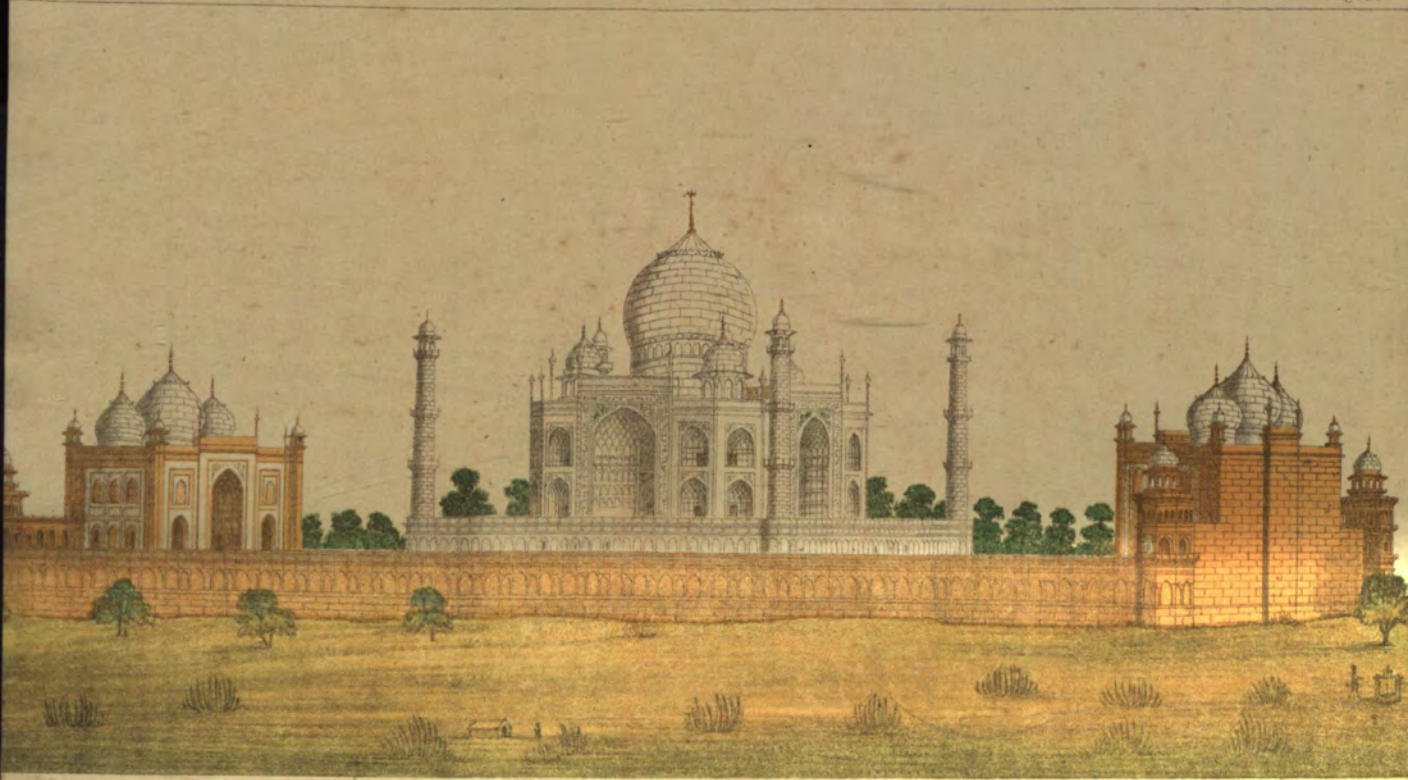
* It is not perhaps generally known, though it deserves to be so, that the bamboo seeds only once, and dies immediately after seeding. All bamboos from the same seed die at the same time, wherever they may have been planted. The life of the common large bamboo is about fifty years.

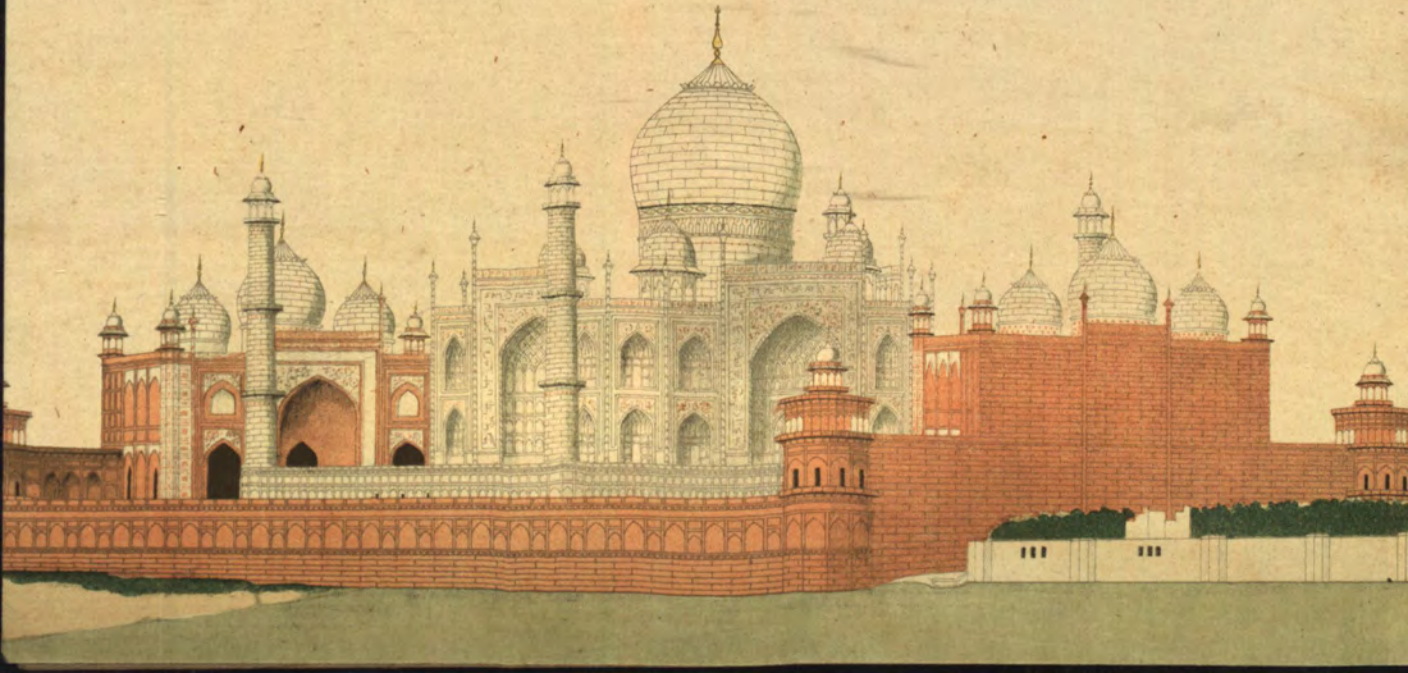
who had been employed to settle some boundary disputes between the yeoman of our territory and those of the adjoining territory of Dholepore. "The honourable Company's rights and those of its yeomen must," said he, "be inevitably sacrificed in all such cases; for the Dholepore chief, or his minister, says to all their witnesses, 'You are of course expected to speak the truth regarding the land in dispute; but, by the sacred stream of the Ganges, if you speak so as to lose this estate one inch of it, you lose both your ears!'—and most assuredly would they lose them," continued he, "if they were not to swear most resolutely, that all the land in question belonged to Dholepore. Had I the same power to cut off the ears of witnesses on our side, we should meet on equal terms. Were I to threaten to cut them off they would laugh in my face." There was much truth in what the poor man said, for the Dholepore witnesses always make it appear that the claims of their yeomen are just and moderate, and a salutary dread of losing their ears operates no doubt very strongly. The threatened punishment of the prince is quick, while that of the gods, however just, is certainly very slow—"ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira Deorum est."

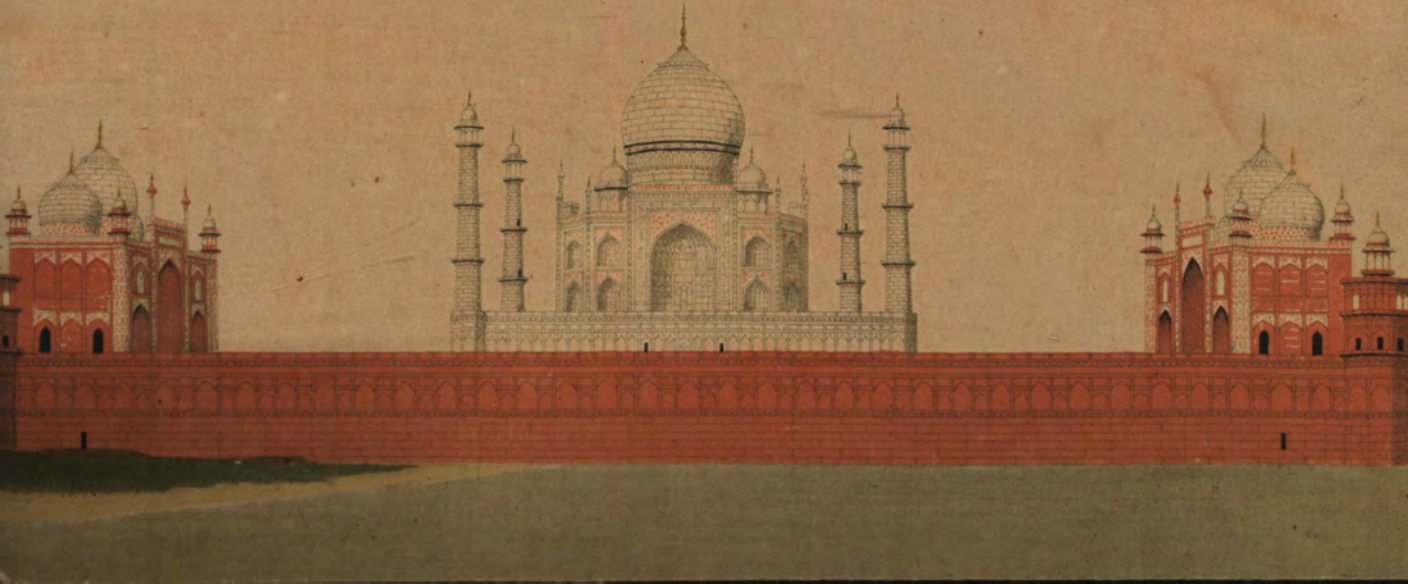
On the 1st of January, 1836, we went on sixteen miles to Agra, and when within about six miles of the city, the dome and minaret of the Taj opened upon us from behind a small grove of fruit trees,

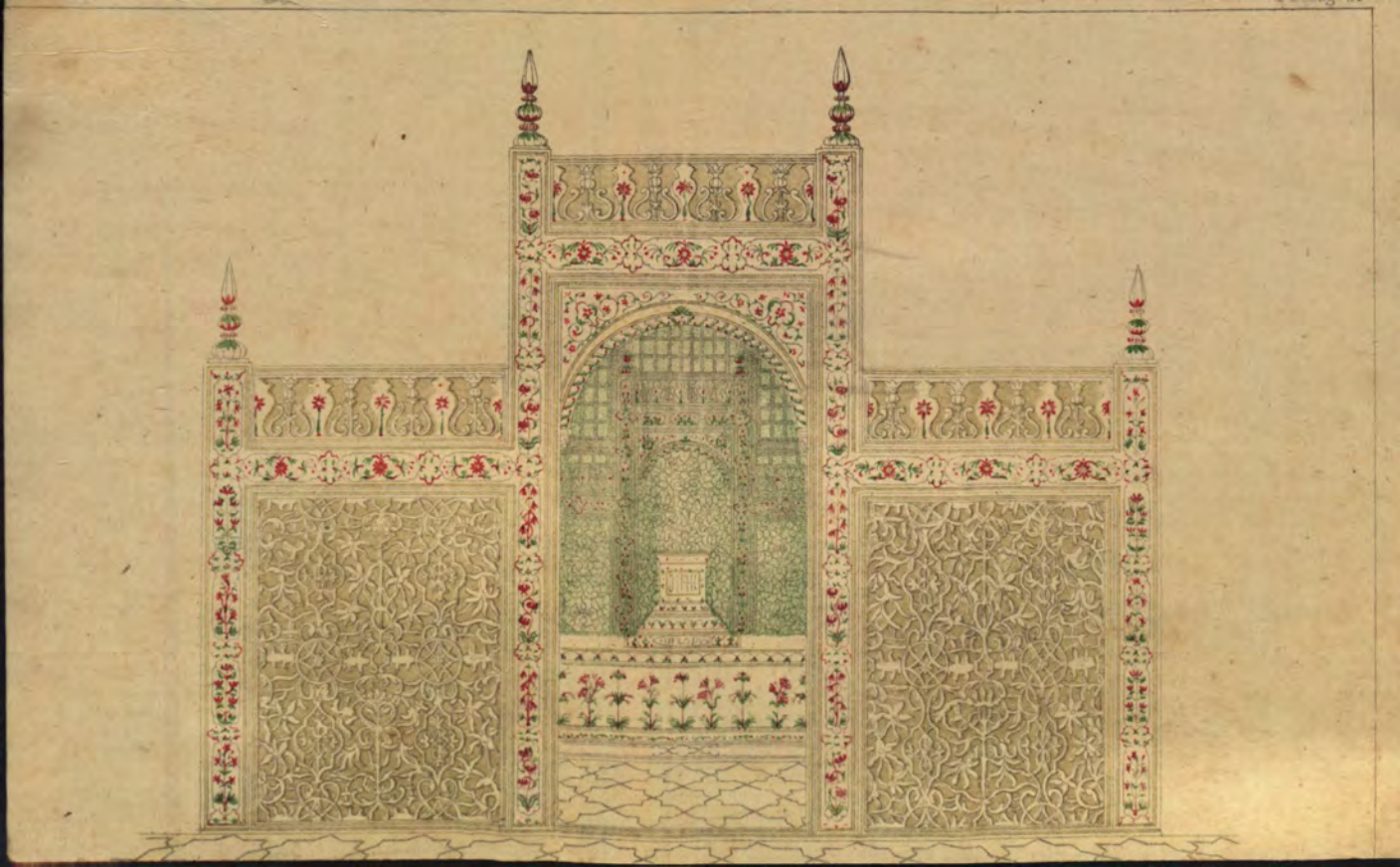
close by us on the side of the road. The morning was not clear, but it was a good one for a first sight of this building, which appeared larger through the dusty haze than it would have done through a clear sky. For five and twenty years of my life had I been looking forward to the sight now before me. Of no building on earth had I heard so much as of this, which contains the remains of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and his wife; the father and mother of the children, whose struggles for dominion have been already described. We had ordered our tents to be pitched in the gardens of this splendid mausoleum, that we might have our full of the enjoyment which everybody seemed to derive from it; and we reached them about eight o'clock. I went over the whole building before I entered my tent; and from the first sight of the dome and minarets on the distant horizon, to the last glance back from my tent-ropes to the magnificent gateway that forms the entrance from our camp to the quadrangle in which they stand, I can truly say that everything surpassed my expectations. I at first thought the dome formed too large a portion of the whole building; that its neck was too long and too much exposed; and that the minarets were too plain in their design; but after going repeatedly over every part, and examining the *tout ensemble* from all possible positions, and in all possible lights, from that of the full moon at midnight in a cloudless sky, to that of the noon-day

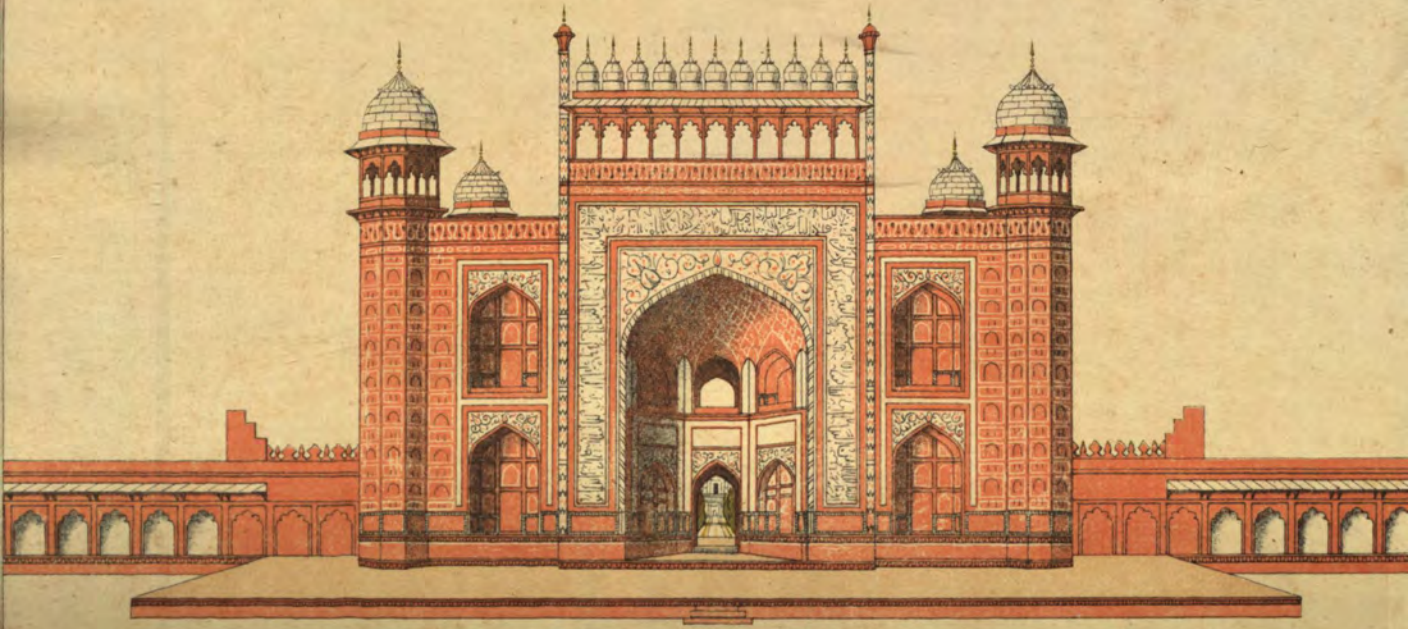












sun, the mind seemed to repose in the calm persuasion, that there was an entire harmony of parts, a faultless congregation of architectural beauties, on which it could dwell for ever without fatigue.

After my quarter of a century of anticipated pleasure, I went on from part to part in the expectation that I must by-and-by come to something that would disappoint me; but no, the emotion which one feels at first is never impaired: on the contrary, it goes on improving from the first *coup d'œil* of the dome in the distance, to the minute inspection of the last flower upon the screen round the tomb. One returns and returns to it with undiminished pleasure; and though at every return one's attention to the smaller parts becomes less and less, the pleasure which he derives from the contemplation of the greater, and of the whole collectively, seems to increase; and he leaves it with a feeling of regret, that he could not have it all his life within his reach; and of assurance that the image of what he has seen can never be obliterated from his mind "while memory holds her seat." I felt that it was to me in architecture what Kemble and his sister, Mrs. Siddons, had been to me a quarter of a century before in acting, something that must stand alone—something that I should never cease to see clearly in my mind's eye, and yet never be able clearly to describe to others.

The Emperor and his Queen lie buried side by side in a vault beneath the building, to which we

descend by a flight of steps. Their remains are covered by two slabs of marble; and directly over these slabs, upon the floor above, in the great centre room under the dome, stand two other slabs, or cenotaphs, of the same marble exquisitely worked in mosaic. Upon that of the Queen, amid wreaths of flowers, are worked in black letters passages from the Koran; one of which, at the end facing the entrance, terminates with, "And defend us from the *tribe* of unbelievers;" that very *tribe* which are now gathered from all quarters of the civilized world, to admire the splendour of the tomb which was raised to perpetuate her name.* On the slab over her husband, there are no passages from the Koran; merely mosaic work of flowers, with his name, and the date of his death. I asked some of the learned Mahomedan attendants, the cause of this difference; and was told, that Shah Jehan had himself designed the slab over his wife, and saw no harm in inscribing the *words of God* upon it; but that the slab over himself was designed by his more pious son, Ourungzebe, who did not think it right to place these *holy words* upon a stone which the foot of man might some day touch, though that stone covered the remains of his own father.† Such was this "man of

* No European had ever before, I believe, noticed this.

† The Empress had been a good deal exasperated against the Portuguese and Dutch, by the treatment her husband received from them when a fugitive, after an unsuccessful rebellion against his father; and her hatred to them extends, in some degree, to

prayers," this *Nemazee*, as Dara called him, to the last. He knew mankind well, and above all that part of them which he was called upon to govern; and which he governed for forty years with so much ability.

The slab over the Queen occupies the centre of the apartments above, and in the vault below, and those over her husband lie on the left as we enter. At one end of the slab in the vault, her name is inwrought, "Moontaj i mahul, Ranoo Begum," the ornament of the palace, Ranoo Begum; and the date of her death, 1631. That of her husband and the date of his death, 1666, are inwrought upon the other. She died in giving birth to a daughter, who is said to have been heard crying in the womb by herself and her other daughters. She sent for the Emperor, and told him, "that she believed no mother had ever been known to survive the birth of a child so heard, and that she felt her end was near. She had," she said, "only two requests to make: first, that he would not marry again after her death, and get children to contend with hers for his favour and dominions; and secondly, that he would build for her the tomb with which he had promised to perpetuate her name." She died in giving birth to the child, as might have been expected, when the Emperor in his anxiety called all the midwives of the city, and all his secretaries of state and privy

all Christians, whom she considered to be included in the term kafer, or unbeliever.

counsellors to prescribe for her! Both her dying requests were granted. Her tomb was commenced upon immediately. No woman ever pretended to supply her place in the palace; nor had Shah Jehan, that we know of, children by any other. Tavernier saw this building commenced and finished; and tells us, that it occupied twenty thousand men for twenty-two years. The mausoleum itself and all the buildings that appertain to it, cost 3,17,48026, three crore, seventeen lacks, forty-eight thousand and twenty-six rupees, or 3,174,802 pounds sterling;—three million, one hundred and seventy-four thousand, eight hundred and two! I asked my wife, when she had gone over it, what she thought of the building? "I cannot," said she, "tell you what I think, for I know not how to criticise such a building, but I can tell you what I feel. I would die to-morrow to have such another over me!" This is what many a lady has felt, no doubt.

The building stands upon the north side of a large quadrangle, looking down into the clear blue stream of the river Jumna, while the other three sides are enclosed with a high wall of red sandstone. The entrance to this quadrangle is through a magnificent gateway in the south side opposite the tomb; and on the other two sides are very beautiful mosques facing inwards, and corresponding exactly with each other in size, design, and execution. That on the left or west side, is the only one that can be used as a mosque or church; because the faces of the audience,

and those of all men at their prayers, must be turned towards the tomb of their prophet to the west. The pulpit is always against the dead wall at the back, and the audience face towards it, standing with their backs to the open front of the building. The church on the east side is used for the accommodation of visitors, or for any secular purpose; and was built merely as a *jowab* (answer) to the real one. The whole area is laid out in square parterres, planted with flowers and shrubs in the centre, and with fine trees, chiefly the cypress, all round the borders, forming an avenue to every road. These roads are all paved with slabs of freestone, and have, running along the centre, a basin, with a row of jets d'eau in the middle from one extremity to the other. These are made to play almost every evening, when the gardens are much frequented by the European gentlemen and ladies of the station, and by natives of all religions and sects. The quadrangle is from east to west nine hundred and sixty-four feet; and from north to south three hundred and twenty-nine.

The mausoleum itself, the terrace upon which it stands, and the minarets, are all formed of the finest white marble inlaid with precious stones. The wall around the quadrangle, including the river face of the terrace, is made of red sandstone, with cupolas and pillars of the same white marble. The inside of the churches and apartments in and upon the walls are all lined with marble or with stucco work that

looks like marble; but on the outside, the red sandstone resembles uncovered bricks. The dazzling white marble of the mausoleum itself rising over the red wall, is apt, at first sight, to make a disagreeable impression, from the idea of a whitewashed head to an unfinished building; but this impression is very soon removed, and tends perhaps to improve that which is afterwards received from a nearer inspection. The marble was all brought from the Jeypore territories upon wheeled carriages, a distance, I believe, of two or three hundred miles; and the sandstone from the neighbourhood of Dholepore and Futtehpore Secree. Shah Jehan is said to have inherited his partiality for this colour from his grandfather, Akbar, who constructed almost all his buildings from the same stone, though he might have had the beautiful white freestone at the same cost. What was figuratively said of Augustus may be most literally said of Shah Jehan: he found the cities (Agra and Delhi) all brick, and left them all marble; for all the marble buildings, and additions to buildings, were formed by him.

This magnificent building and the palaces at Agra and Delhi were, I believe, designed by Austin de Bordeux, a Frenchman of great talent and merit, in whose ability and integrity the Emperor placed much reliance. He was called by the natives Oostan Eesau, Nadir ol Asur, the wonderful of the age; and for his office of nuksha nuwees, or plan drawer, he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month,

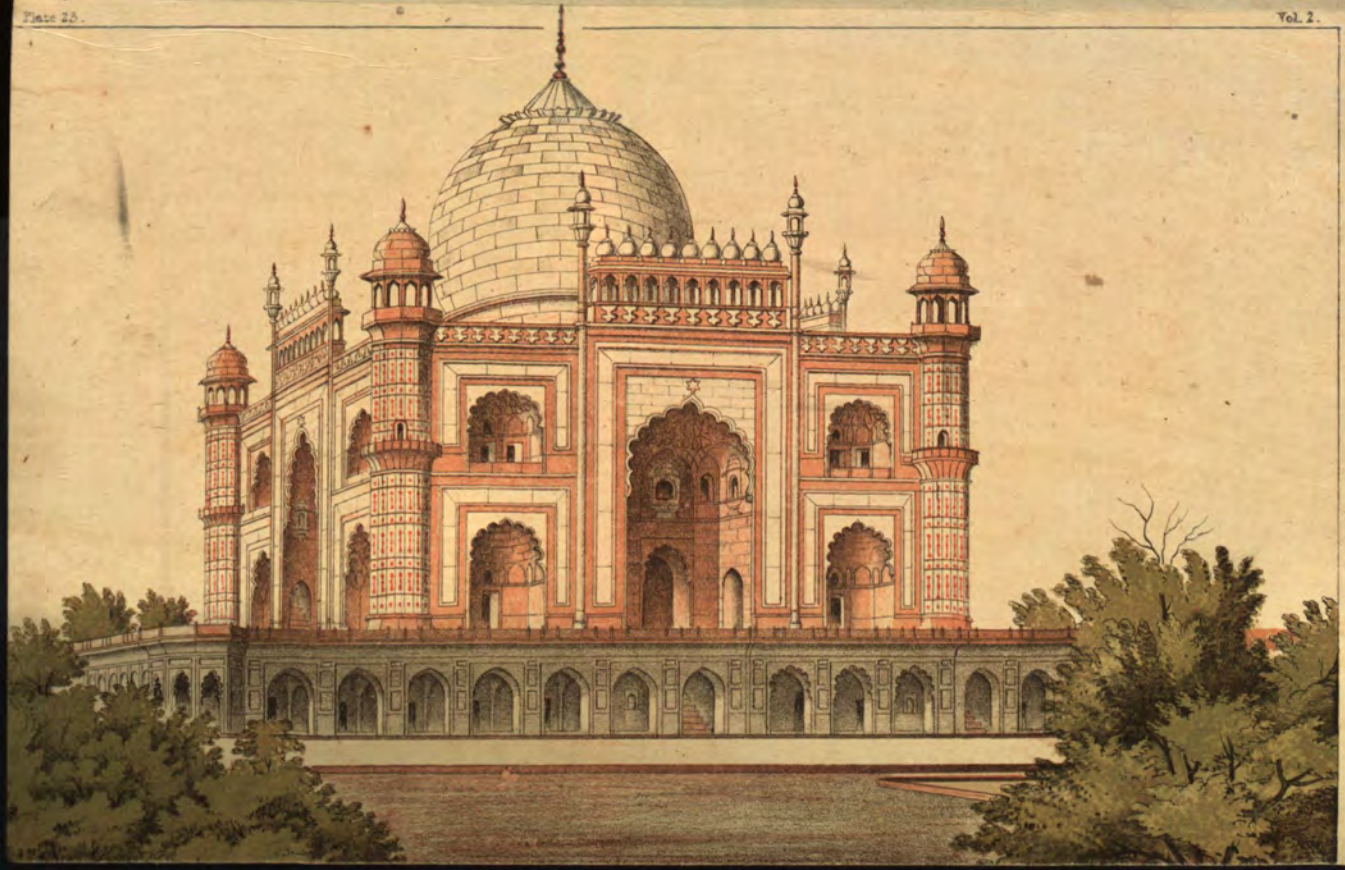
with occasional presents, that made his income very large. He had finished the palace of Delhi, and the mausoleum and palace of Agra; and was engaged in designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries in the latter, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. He died at Cochin on his way back; and is supposed to have been poisoned by the Portuguese, who were extremely jealous of his influence at court. He left a son by a native, called Mahomed Shureef, who was employed as an architect on a salary of five hundred rupees a month, and who became, as I conclude from his name, a Mussulman. Shah Jehan had commenced his own tomb on the opposite side of the Jumna; and both were to have been united by a bridge. The death of Austin de Bordeux, and the wars between his sons that followed, prevented the completion of these magnificent works.*

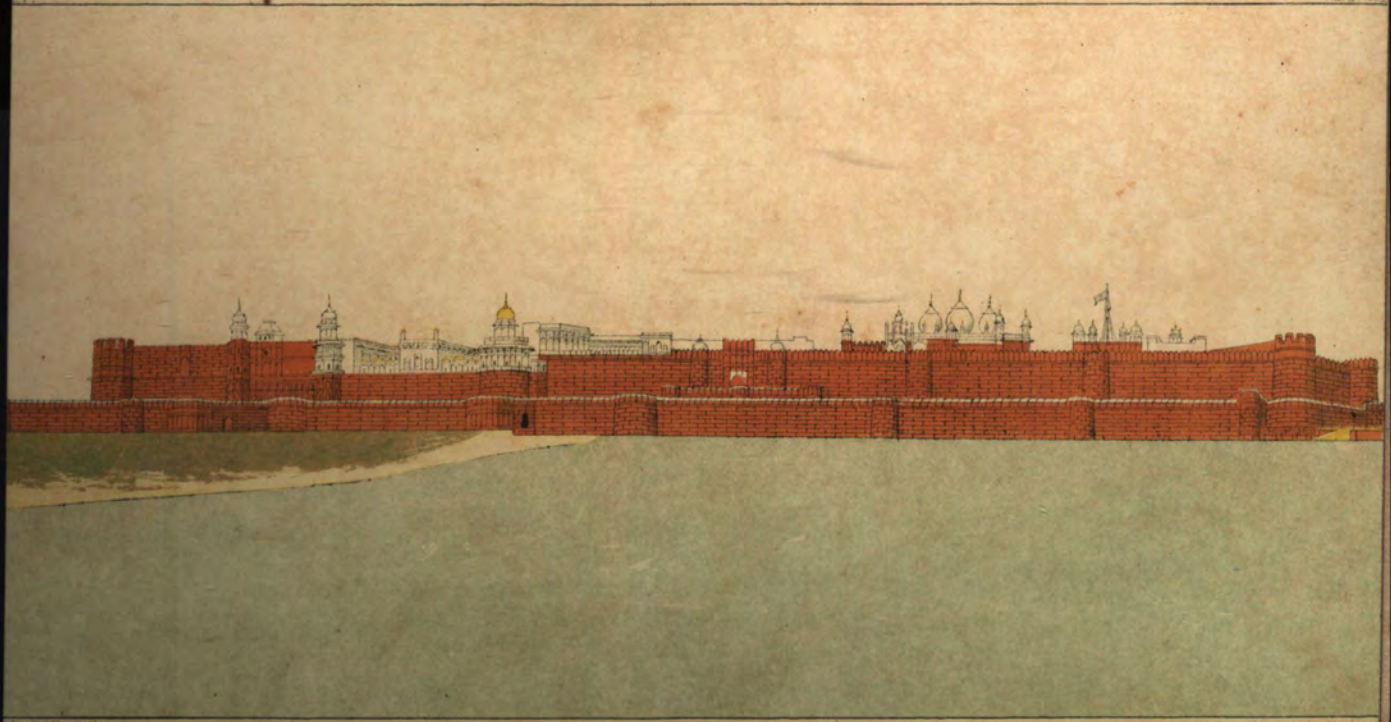
We were encamped upon a fine green sward outside the entrance to the south, in a kind of large court, enclosed by a high cloistered wall, in which all our attendants and followers found shelter. Colonel and Mrs. King, and some other gentlemen,

* I would not be thought very positive upon this point. I think I am right, but feel that I may be wrong. Tavernier says, that Shah Jehan was obliged to give up his intention of completing a silver ceiling to the great hall in the palace, because Austin de Bordeux had been killed, and no other person could venture to attempt it. Oostan Ecsau, in all the Persian accounts stands first among the salaried architects.

were encamped in the same place, and for the same purpose; and we had a very agreeable party. The band of our friend Major Godby's regiment played sometimes in the evening upon the terrace of the Taj; but of all the complicated music ever heard upon earth, that of a flute blown gently in the vault below, where the remains of the Emperor and his consort repose, as the sound rises to the dome amidst a hundred arched alcoves around, and descends in heavenly reverberations upon those who sit or recline upon the cenotaphs above the vault, is perhaps the finest to an inartificial ear. We feel as if it were from heaven, and breathed by angels; it is to the ear what the building itself is to the eye; but unhappily it cannot, like the building, live in our recollections. All that we can, in after life, remember is, that it was heavenly, and produced heavenly emotions.

We went all over the palace in the fort, a very magnificent building constructed by Shah Jehan, within fortifications raised by his grandfather Akbar. The fret-work and mosaic upon the marble pillars and panels are equal to those of the Taj, or, if possible, superior; nor is the design or execution in any respect inferior, and yet an European feels, that he could get a house much more commodious, and more to his taste, for a much less sum than must have been expended upon it. The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful of the marble baths of this palace to send home to George IV. of England, then Prince





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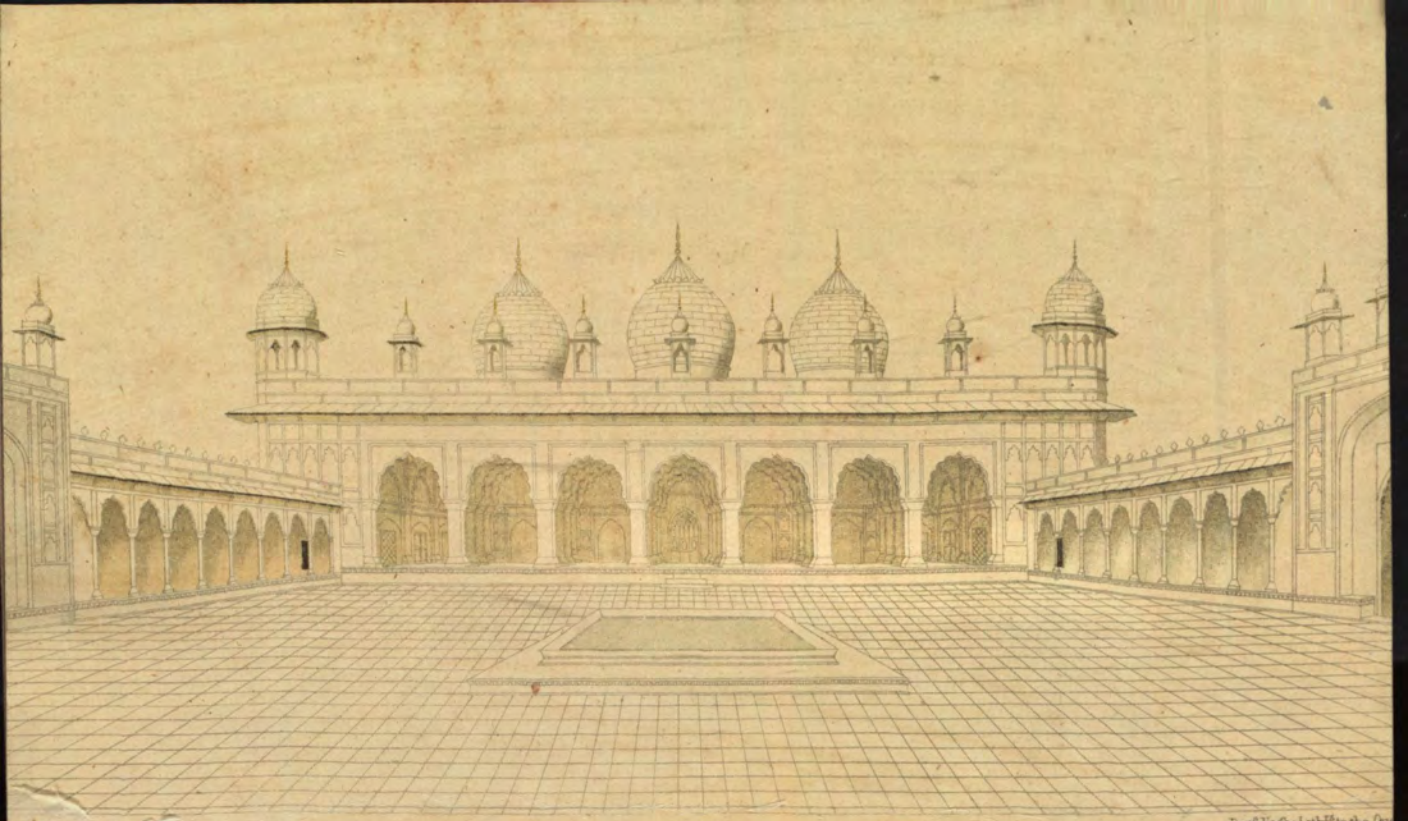


MOTEE MUSJID .

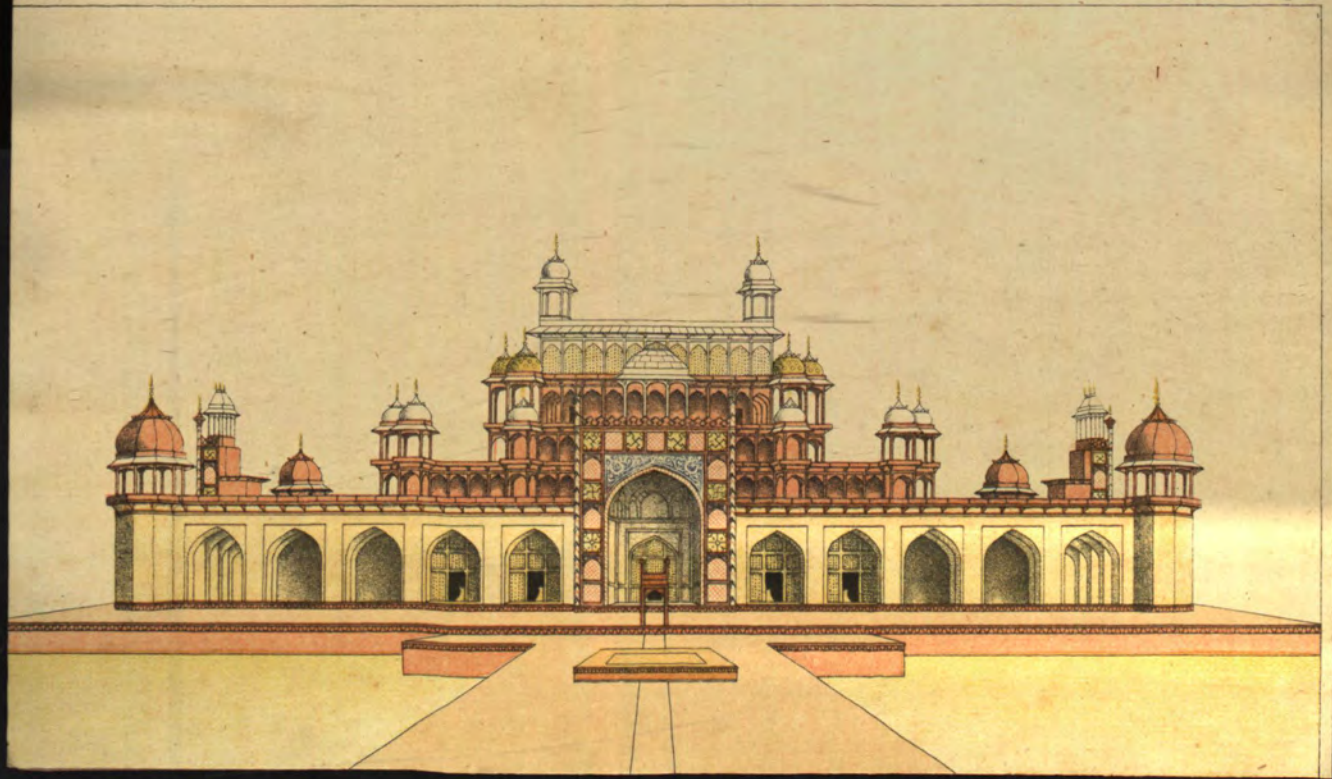
Regent; and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fret-work and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner.

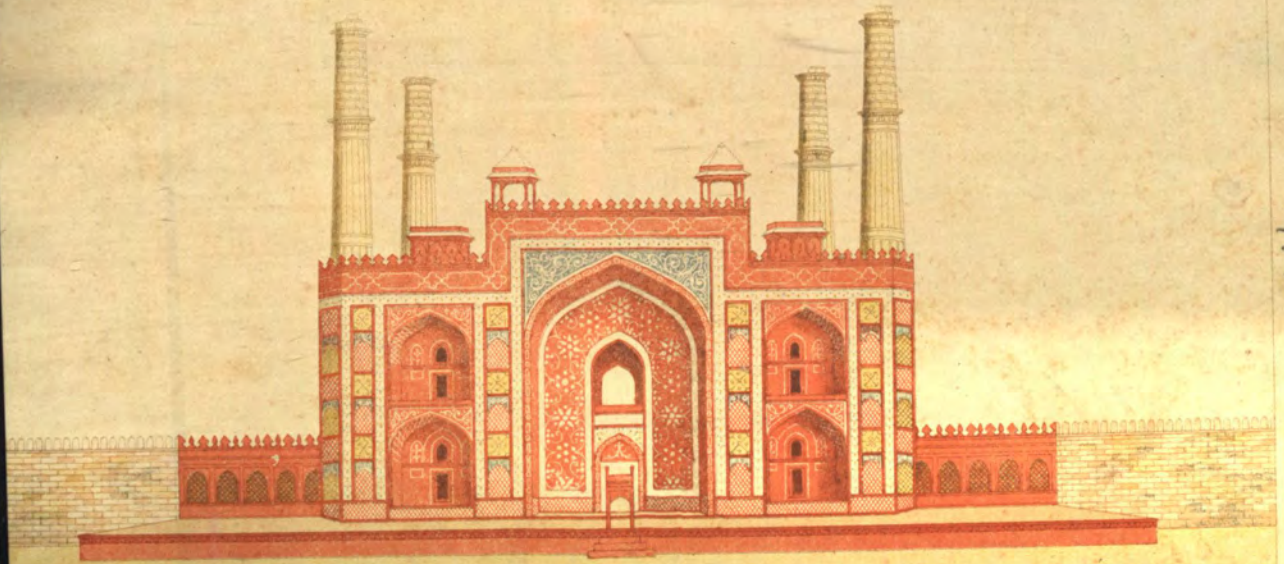
We visited the Motee Musjid, or pearl mosque. It was built by Shah Jehan, entirely of white marble; and completed, as we learn from an inscription on the portico, in the year A. D. 1656. There is no mosaic upon any of the pillars or panels of this mosque; but the design and execution of the flowers in bas-relief are exceedingly beautiful. It is a chaste, simple, and majestic building; and is by some people admired even more than the Taj, because they have heard less of it; and their pleasure is heightened by surprise. We feel that it is to all other mosques, what the Taj is to all other mausoleums, a *facile princeps*. Few, however, go to see the mosque of pearls more than once, stay as long as they will at Agra; and when they go, the building appears less and less to deserve their admiration, while they go to the Taj as often as they can, and find new beauties in it, or new feelings of pleasure from it, every time.*

* I would, however, here enter my humble protest against the quadrille and tiffin parties, which are sometimes given to the

I went out to visit the tomb of the Emperor Akbar, at Secundra, a magnificent building, raised over him by his son, the Emperor Jehangeer. His remains lie deposited in a deep vault under the centre, and are covered by a plain slab of marble, without fret-work or mosaic. On the top of the building, which is three or four stories high, is another marble slab corresponding with the one in the vault below. This is beautifully carved, with the "Now Nubbey Nām"—the ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity—from the Koran. It is covered by an awning, not to protect the tomb, but to defend the "*words of God*" from the rain, as my cicerone assured me. He told me that the attendants upon this tomb used to have the hay of the large quadrangle of forty acres, in which it stands, in addition to their small salaries, and that it yielded them some fifty rupees a year; but the chief native officer of the Taj establishment demanded half of the sum, and when they refused to give him so much, he persuaded his master, the European engineer, *with much difficulty*, to take all this hay for the public cattle! "And why could you not adjust such a

European ladies and gentlemen of the station at this imperial tomb; drinking and dancing are, no doubt, very good things in their season, even in a hot climate, but they are sadly out of place in a sepulchre, and never fail to shock the good feelings of sober-minded people when given there. Good church music gives us great pleasure, without exciting us to dancing or drinking; the Taj does the same, at least to the sober-minded.





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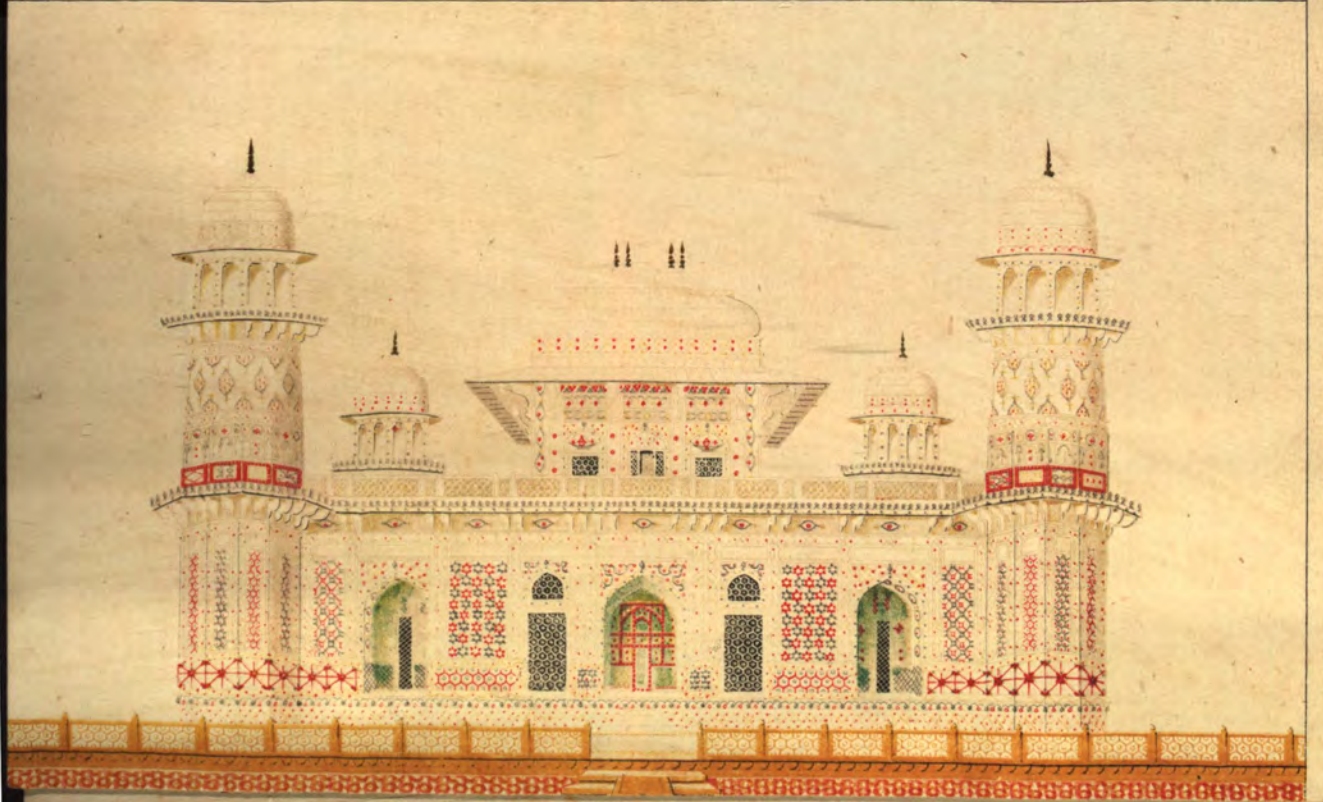

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matter between you, without pestering the engineer?" "Is not this the way," said he, with emotion, "that Hindoostan has cut its own throat, and brought in the stranger at all times? Have they ever had, or can they ever have, confidence in each other, or let each other alone to enjoy the little they have in peace?" Considering all the circumstances of time and place, Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns, what Shakspeare was among poets; and, feeling as a citizen of the world, I reverenced the marble slab that covers his bones, more perhaps than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted.

CHAPTER IV.

NOOR JEHAN, THE AUNT OF THE EMPRESS NOOR MAHUL, OVER WHOSE REMAINS THE TAJ IS BUILT.

I CROSSED over the river Jumna one morning to look at the tomb of Etmad od Doulah, the most remarkable mausoleum in the neighbourhood, after those of Akbar and the Taj. On my way back, I asked one of the boatmen, who was rowing me, who had built what appeared to me a new dome within the fort.

"One of the Emperors, of course," said he.

"What makes you think so?"

"Because such things are made only by Emperors," replied the man quietly, without relaxing his pull at the oar.

"True, very true!" said an old Mussulman trooper, with large white whiskers and mustachios, who had dismounted to follow me across the river, with a melancholy shake of the head, "very true; who but Emperors could do such things as these?"

Encouraged by the trooper, the boatman continued: "The Jats and the Mahrattas did nothing but pull down and destroy, while they held their *accursed dominion* here; and the European gentlemen, who now govern, seem to have no pleasure in building anything but *factories, courts of justice,* and *jails.*"

Feeling as an Englishman, as we all must sometimes do, be where we will, I could hardly help wishing that the beautiful panels and pillars of the bath-room had fetched a better price, and that palace, Taj, and all at Agra, had gone to the hammer—so sadly do they exalt the past, at the expense of the present, in the imaginations of the people!

The tomb contains, in the centre, the remains of Khwaja Aceas, one of the most prominent characters of the reign of Jehangeer, and those of his wife. The remains of the other members of his family repose in rooms all round them; and are covered with slabs of marble richly cut. It is an exceedingly beautiful building; but a great part of the most valuable stones of the mosaic work have been picked out and stolen; and the whole is about to be sold by auction, by a decree of the civil court, to pay the debt of the present proprietor, who is entirely unconnected with the family whose members repose under it, and especially indifferent as to what becomes of their bones. The building and garden in which it stands were, some sixty years ago, given away, I believe, by

Nujeef Khan, the prime minister, to one of his nephews, to whose family it still belongs. Khwaja Aeeas, a native of western Tartary, left that country for India, where he had some relations at the imperial court, who seemed likely to be able to secure his advancement. He was a man of handsome person, and of good education and address. He set out with his wife, a bullock, and a small sum of money, which he realized by the sale of all his other property. The wife, who was pregnant, rode upon the bullock, while he walked by her side. Their stock of money had become exhausted, and they had been three days without food in the great desert, when she was taken in labour, and gave birth to a daughter. The mother could hardly keep her seat on the bullock, and the father had become too much exhausted to afford her any support; and in their distress they agreed to abandon the infant. They covered it over with leaves, and towards evening pursued their journey. When they had gone on about a mile, and had lost sight of the solitary shrub under which they had left their child, the mother, in an agony of grief, threw herself from the bullock upon the ground, exclaiming, "My child, my child!" Aeeas could not resist this appeal. He went back to the spot, took up his child, and brought it to its mother's breast. Some traveller soon after came up and relieved their distress, and they reached Lahore, where the Emperor Akbar then held his court.

Asuf Khan, a distant relation of Aeeas, held a

high place at court, and was much in the confidence of the Emperor. He made his kinsman his private secretary. Much pleased with his diligence and ability, Asuf soon brought his merits to the special notice of Akbar, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse, and soon after appointed him master of the household. From this he was promoted afterwards to that of Etmad od Doulah, or high treasurer, one of the first ministers. The daughter, who had been born in the desert, became celebrated for her great beauty, parts, and accomplishments, and won the affections of the eldest son of the Emperor, the prince Saleem, who saw her unveiled, by accident, at a party given by her father. She had been betrothed before this to Shere Afgun, a Toorkaman gentleman of rank at court, and of great repute for his high spirit, strength, and courage. Saleem in vain entreated his father to interpose his authority to make him resign his claim in his favour; and she became the wife of Shere Afgun. Saleem dared not, during his father's life, make any open attempt to revenge himself; but he, and those courtiers who thought it their interest to worship the rising sun, soon made his residence at the capital disagreeable, and he retired with his wife to Bengal, where he obtained from the governor the superintendency of the district of Burdwan.

Saleem succeeded his father on the throne; and no longer restrained by his rigid sense of justice, he recalled Shere Afgun to court at Delhi. He was

promoted to high offices, and concluded that time had erased from the Emperor's mind all feelings of love for his wife, and of resentment against his successful rival—but he was mistaken: Saleem had never forgiven him, nor had the desire to possess his wife at all diminished. A Mahomedan of such high feeling and station would, the Emperor knew, never survive the dishonour, or suspected dishonour, of his wife; and to possess her he must make away with the husband. He dared not do this openly, because he dreaded the universal odium in which he knew it would involve him; and he made several unsuccessful attempts to get him removed, by means that might not appear to have been contrived or executed by his orders. At one time he designedly, in his own presence, placed him in a situation where the pride of the chief made him contend, single handed, with a large tiger, which he killed; and at another with a mad elephant, whose probosces he cut off with his sword; but the Emperor's motives in all these attempts to put him foremost in situations of danger, became so manifest, that Shere Afgun solicited, and obtained permission, to retire with his wife to Bengal.

The governor of this province, Kutub, having been made acquainted with the Emperor's desire to have the chief made away with, hired forty ruffians, who stole into his house one night. There happened to be nobody else in the house; but one of the party, touched by remorse on seeing so fine a man about to

be murdered in his sleep, called out to him to defend himself. He seized his sword, placed himself in one corner of the room, and defended himself so well, that nearly one-half of the party are said to have been killed or wounded. The rest all made off, persuaded that he was endowed with supernatural force. After this escape he retired from Tanda, the capital of Bengal, to his old residence of Burdwan. Soon after Kutub came to the city with a splendid retinue, on the pretence of making his tour of inspection through the provinces under his charge, but, in reality, for the sole purpose of making away with Shere Afgun, who, as soon as he heard of his approach, came out some miles to meet him on horseback, attended by only two followers. He was received with marks of great consideration, and he and the governor rode on for some time side by side, talking of their mutual friends, and the happy days they had spent together at the capital. At last, as they were about to enter the city, the governor suddenly called for his elephant of state, and mounted, saying, "it would be necessary for him to pass through the city, on the first visit, in some state." Shere sat on horseback while he mounted, but one of the governor's pikemen struck his horse, and began to drive him before them. Shere drew his sword, and seeing all the governor's followers with their's ready drawn to attack him, he concluded at once that the affront had been put upon him by the orders of Kutub, and with the design to provoke him to an unequal fight. Deter-

mined to have his life first, he spurred his horse upon the elephant, and killed Kutub with his spear. He now attacked the principal officers, and five noblemen of the first rank fell by his sword. All the crowd now rolled back, and formed a circle round Shere and his two companions, and galled them with arrows and musket-balls from a distance. His horse fell under him and expired; and having received six balls and several arrows in his body, Shere himself at last fell exhausted to the ground; and the crowd, seeing the sword drop from his grasp, rushed in and cut him to pieces.

His widow was sent, "nothing loth," to court, with her only child, (a daughter.) She was graciously received by the Emperor's mother, and had apartments assigned her in the palace; but the Emperor himself is said not to have seen her for four years, during which time the fame of her beauty, talents, and accomplishments, filled the palace and city. After the expiration of this time, the feelings, whatever they were, which prevented his seeing her subsided; and when he at last surprised her with a visit, he found her to exceed all that his imagination had painted her since their last separation. In a few days their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence; and from that hour the Emperor resigned the reins of government almost entirely into her hands; and till his death, under the name first of Noor Mahul, light of the palace, and afterwards of Noor Jehan, light of the world, she ruled the destinies of

this great empire. Her father was now raised from the station of high treasurer to that of prime minister. Her two brothers obtained the titles of Asuf Jah and Ilkad Khan; and the relations of the family poured in from Tartary, in search of employment, as soon as they heard of their success. Noor Jehan had by Shere Afgun, as I have stated, one daughter; but she had never any child by the Emperor Jehangeer.

Asuf Jah became prime minister on the death of his father; and, in spite of his sister, he managed to secure the crown to Shah Jehan, the third son of Jehangeer, who had married his daughter, the lady over whose remains the Taj was afterwards built. Jehangeer's eldest son, Khosroo, had his eyes put out by his father's orders, for repeated rebellions to which he had been instigated by a desire to revenge his mother's murder, and by the ambition of her brother, the Hindoo prince Man Sing, who wished to see his own nephew upon the throne; and by his wife's father, the prime minister of Akbar, Khan Azim. Noor Jehan had invited the mother of Khosroo, the sister of Rajah Man Sing, to look with her down a well in the courtyard of her apartments by moonlight; and as she did so she threw her in. As soon as she saw that she had ceased to struggle she gave the alarm, and pretended that she had fallen in by accident. By the murder of the mother of the heir apparent, she expected to secure the throne to a creature of her own. Khosroo was treated with great kindness

by his father, after he had been barbarously deprived of his sight; but when his brother, Shah Jehan, was appointed to the government of southern India, he pretended great solicitude about the comforts of his *poor blind brother*, which he thought would not be attended to at court, and took him with him to his government in the Deccan, where he got him assassinated, as the only sure mode of securing the throne to himself. Purwez, the second son, died a natural death, so also did his only son; and so also Daneeal, the fourth son of the Emperor. Noor Jehan's daughter, by Shere Afgun, had married Shahreear, a young son of the Emperor, by a concubine; and just before his death, he, at the instigation of Noor Jehan, named this son as his successor in his will. He was placed upon the throne, and put in possession of the treasury, and at the head of a respectable army; but the Empress' brother, Asuf, designed the throne for his own son-in-law, Shah Jehan; and as soon as the Emperor died, he put up as a puppet, to amuse the people till he could come up with his army from the Deccan, Bolakee, the eldest son of the deceased Khosroo. Shahreear's troops were defeated; he was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out forthwith; and the Empress was put into close confinement. As Shah Jehan approached Lahore with his army, Asuf put his puppet, Bolakee, and his younger brother, with the two young sons of Daneeal, into prison, where they were strangled by a messenger sent on for the purpose by

Shah Jehan, under the sanction of Asuf. This measure left no male heir alive of the house of Tamerlane in Hindoostan, save Shah Jehan himself, and his four sons. Dara was then thirteen years of age, Shoojah twelve, Ourungzebe ten, and Moorad four; and all were present, to learn from their father this sad lesson, that such of them who might be alive on his death, save one, must, with their sons, be hunted down and destroyed like mad dogs, lest they might get into the hands of the disaffected, and be made the tools of faction. Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Agra, as I have before stated, in 1666, says, "Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand christian families in Agra; but all do not agree in that. The Dutch have a factory in the town, but the English have now none, because it did not turn to account." The number must have been great, or so sober a man as Monsieur Thevenot would not have thought such an estimate worthy to be quoted without contradiction. They were all, except those connected with the single Dutch factory, maintained from the salaries of office; and they gradually disappeared as their offices became filled with Mahomedans and Hindoos. The duties of the artillery, its arsenals, and foundries, were the chief foundation upon which the superstructure of Christianity then stood in India. These duties were everywhere entrusted exclusively to Europeans, and all Europeans were Christians, and under Shah Jehan permitted freely to follow their own modes of worship. They were, too, Roman

Catholics, and spent the greater part of their incomes in the maintenance of priests. But they could never forget that they were strangers in the land, and held their offices upon a precarious tenure; and, consequently, they never felt disposed to expend the little wealth they had in raising durable tombs, churches, and other public buildings, to tell posterity who or what they were. Present physical enjoyment, and the prayers of their priests for a good berth in the next world, were the only objects of their ambition. Mahomedans and Hindoos soon learned to perform duties which they saw bring to the Christians so much of honour and emolument; and as they did so, they necessarily sapped the walls of the fabric. Christianity never became independent of office in India, and I am afraid never will: even under our rule it still mainly rests upon that foundation.

CHAPTER V.

FATHER GREGORY'S NOTION OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO CONVERSION IN INDIA—INABILITY OF EUROPEANS TO SPEAK EASTERN LANGUAGES.

FATHER GREGORY, the Roman Catholic priest, dined with us one evening, and Major Godby took occasion to ask him at table, "What progress our religion was making among the people?"

"Progress!" said he; "why what progress can we ever hope to make among a people, who, the moment we begin to talk to them about the miracles performed by Christ, begin to tell us of those infinitely more wonderful performed by Krishna, who lifted a mountain upon his little finger, as an umbrella, to defend his shepherdesses, at Gwerdham, from a shower of rain."

The Hindoos never doubt any part of the miracles and prophecies of our scripture—they believe every word of them; and the only thing that surprises them is, that they should be so much less wonderful than

those of their own scriptures, in which also they implicitly believe. Men who believe that the histories of the wars and amours of Ram and Krishna, two of the incarnations of Vishnoo, were written some fifty thousand years before these wars and amours actually took place upon the earth, would of course easily believe in the fulfilment of any prophecy that might be related to them out of any other book; and, as to miracles, there is absolutely nothing too extraordinary for their belief. If a Christian of respectability were to tell a Hindoo, that, to satisfy some scruples of the Corinthians, St. Paul had brought the sun and moon down upon the earth, and made them rebound off again into their places, like tennis balls, without the slightest injury to any of the three planets, I do not think he would feel the slightest doubt of the truth of it; but he would immediately be put in mind of something still more extraordinary that Krishna did to amuse the milk-maids, or to satisfy some sceptics of his day, and relate it with all the *naïveté* imaginable.

I saw at Agra, Mirza Kam Buksh, the eldest son of Sooleeman Shekoh, the eldest son of the brother of the present Emperor. He had spent a season with us at Jubbulpore, while prosecuting his claim to an estate against the Rajah of Rewah. The Emperor, Shah Alum, in his flight before our troops from Bengal, 1762, struck off the high road to Delhi, at Mirzapore, and came down to Rewah, where he found an asylum during the season of the rains with

the Rewah Rajah, who assigned for his residence the village of Mukunpore. His wife, the empress, was here delivered of a son, the present Emperor of Hindoostan, Akbar Shah; and the Rajah assigned to him and to his heirs for ever the *fee simple* of this village. As the members of this family increased in geometrical ratio, under the new system, which gave them plenty to eat with nothing to do, the Emperor had of late been obliged to hunt round for little additions to his income; and in his search he found that the village of Mukunpore gave name to a pergunnah, or little district, of which it was the capital; and that a good deal of merchandize passed through this district, and paid heavy duties to the Rajah. "Nothing," he thought, "would be lost by trying to get the whole district instead of the village;" and for this purpose he sent down Kam Buksh, the ablest man of the whole family, to urge and prosecute his claim; but the Rajah was a close, shrewd man, and not to be *done out* of his revenue, and Kam Buksh was obliged to return minus some thousand rupees, which he had spent in attempting to keep up appearances.

The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mahomedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Mahomedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and

Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avacenna, or as they call him, Booalee Shena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have; and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mahomedan gentlemen of education, upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people; the arts and the sciences; the faculties and operations of the human mind; and the thousand other things which are subjects of every day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my ideas; but these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can; but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose

presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant—this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it!

We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their Sepahees and native officers about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill; or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field; and as long as they are understood, they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking, without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment, to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest, in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspire us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them. We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would

oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, on the bench, and in the senate! Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imamod Deen, Ghuzzalee, and Nuseerod Deen, of Thons. Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle.

I may here mention the following among many instances that occur to me of the amusing mistakes into which Europeans are liable to fall in their conversation with natives.

Mr. J. W——n, of the Bengal civil service, commonly known by the name of Beau W——, was the honourable Company's opium agent at Patna, when I arrived at Dinapore, to join my regiment, in 1810. He had a splendid house, and lived in excellent style; and was never so happy as when he had a dozen young men from the Dinapore cantonments living with him. He complained that year, as I was told, that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon the opium, purchased by the government from the cultivators. The members of the civil service, in the other branches of public service, were all anxious to have it believed by their countrymen, that they were well acquainted with their duties, and able and willing to perform them; but the honourable Company's commercial agents

were, on the contrary, generally anxious to make their countrymen believe that they neither knew nor cared anything about their duties, because they were ashamed of them. They were sinecure posts for the drones of the service, or for those who had great interest and no capacity. Had any young man made it appear that he really thought W——n knew or cared anything about his duties, he would certainly never have been invited to his house again; and if any one really knew, certainly no one seemed to know, that he had any other duty than that of entertaining his guests!

No man ever spoke the native language so badly, because no man had ever so little intercourse with the natives; and it was, I have been told, to his ignorance of the native languages, that his bosom friend, Mr. P——st, owed his life on one occasion. W. sat by the sick bed of his friend with unwearied attention, for some days and nights, after the doctors had declared his case entirely hopeless. He proposed at last to try change of air, and take him on the river Ganges. The doctors, thinking that he might as well die in his boat on the river, as in his house in Calcutta, consented to his taking him on board. They got up as far as Hoogly, when P. said that he felt better, and thought he could eat something. What should it be? A little roasted kid perhaps. The very thing that he was longing for! W. went out upon the deck to give orders for the kid, that his friend might not be disturbed by the gruff voice of

the old "Khansama," (butler.) P. heard the conversation, however. "Khansama," said the Bear W., "you know that my friend Mr. P. is very ill?"

"Yes, sir."

"And that he has not eaten anything for a month?"

"A long time for a man to fast, sir."

"Yes, Khansama, and his stomach is now become very delicate, and could not stand anything strong."

"Certainly not, sir."

"Well, Khansama, then he has taken a fancy to a roasted *mare*," (Murdwan,) meaning a Hulwan, or kid.

"A roasted mare, sir!"

"Yes, Khansama, a roasted mare, which you must have nicely prepared."

"What the whole, sir?"

"Not the whole at one time; but have the whole ready, as there is no knowing what part he may like best."

The old butler had heard of the Tartars eating their horses when in robust health, but the idea of a sick man, not able to move in his bed without assistance, taking a fancy to a roasted mare, quite staggered him.

"But, sir, I may not be able to get such a thing as a mare at so short a notice; and if I get her she will be very dear."

"Never mind, Khansama, get you the mare, cost what she will; if she costs a thousand rupees my

friend shall have her! He has taken a fancy to the mare, and the mare he shall have, if she cost a thousand rupees!"

The butler made his salaam, said he would do his best, and took his leave, requesting that the boats might be kept at the bank of the river till he came back.

W. went into his sick friend, who, with great difficulty, managed to keep his countenance while he complained of the liberties old servants were in the habit of taking with their masters. "They think themselves privileged," said W., "to conjure up difficulties in the way of everything that one wants to have done."

"Yes," said P——st, "we like to have old and faithful servants about us, particularly when we are sick; but they are apt to take liberties, which new ones will not."

In about two hours, the butler's approach was announced from the deck, and W. walked out to scold him for his delay. The old gentleman was coming down over the bank, followed by about eight men bearing the four quarters of an old *mare*. The butler was very fat; and the proud consciousness of having done his duty, and met his master's wishes in a very difficult and important point, had made him a perfect Falstaff. He marshalled his men in front of the cooking-boat, and then came towards his master, who for some time stood amazed, and unable to

speak. At last he roared out—"And what the devil have you here?"

"Why the *mare* that the sick gentleman took a fancy for; and dear enough she has cost me; not a farthing less than two hundred rupees would the fellow take for his mare."

P——st could contain himself no longer; he burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, during which the abscess in his liver burst into the intestines, and he felt himself suddenly relieved, as if by enchantment. The mistake was rectified—he got his kid; and in ten days he was taken back to Calcutta a sound man, to the great astonishment of all the doctors.

During the first campaign against Nepaul, in 1815, Colonel, now Major-General O. H., who commanded the —— regiment, N. I. had to march with his regiment through the town of Durbunga, the capital of the Rajah, who came to pay his respects to him. He brought a number of presents, but the colonel, a high-minded, amiable man, never took anything himself, nor suffered any person in his camp to do so in the districts they passed through without paying for it. He politely declined to take anything of the presents; but said, "that he had heard that Durbunga produced *crows*, (Konwas,) and should be glad to get some of them if the Rajah could spare them"—meaning *coffee* or Quhooa.

The Rajah stared, and said, "that certainly they

had abundance of crows in Durbunga; but he thought they were equally abundant in all parts of India."

"Quite the contrary, Rajah Sahib, I assure you," said the colonel; "there is not such a thing as a crow to be found in any part of the Company's dominions that I have seen, and I have been all over them."

"Very strange," said the Rajah, turning round to his followers.

"Yes," replied they, "it is very strange, Rajah Sahib; but such is your Ikbal, (good fortune,) and the blessings of your rule, that everything thrives under it; and if the colonel should wish to have a few crows we could easily collect them for him."

"If," said the colonel, greatly delighted, "you could provide us with a few of these crows, we should really feel very much obliged to you; for we have a long and cold campaign before us among the bleak hills of Nepaul; and we are all fond of crows."

"Indeed," returned the Rajah; "I shall be happy to send you as many as you wish." (Much and many is expressed by the same term.)

"Then we should be glad to have two or three bags full, if it would not be robbing you."

"Not in the least," said the Rajah; "I will go home and order them to be collected immediately."

In the evening, as the officers, with the colonel at their head, were sitting down to dinner, a man came up to announce the arrival of the Rajah's present. Three fine large bags were bought in, and the colonel requested that one might be opened immediately. It was opened accordingly, and the mess butler (Khansama) drew out by the legs a fine old crow. The colonel immediately saw the mistake, and laughed as heartily as the rest at the result. A polite message was sent to the Rajah, requesting that he would excuse his having made it—for he had had a dozen men out shooting crows all day with their matchlocks. Few Europeans spoke the language better than General ——, and I do not believe that one European in a thousand, at this moment, makes any difference, or knows any difference, in the sound of the two terms.

Kam Buksh had one sister married to the King of Oude, and another to Mirza Suleem, the younger son of the Emperor. Mirza Suleem and his wife could not agree, and a separation took place, and she went to reside with her sister, the Queen of Oude. The king saw her frequently; and finding her more beautiful than his wife, he demanded her also in marriage from her father, who resided at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, on a pension of five thousand rupees a month from the King. He would not consent, and demanded his daughter; the King, finding her willing to share his bed and board with her sister, would not give her up. The father got his

old friend, Colonel Gardiner, who had married a Mahomedan woman of rank, to come down and plead his cause. The king gave up the young woman; but at the same time stopped the father's pension, and ordered him and all his family out of his dominions. He set out with Colonel Gardiner and his daughter, on his road to Delhi, through Khassgunge, the residence of the colonel, who was one day recommending the prince to seek consolation for the loss of his pension in the proud recollection of having saved the honour of the *house of Tamerlane*, when news was brought to them that the daughter had run off from camp with his, Colonel Gardiner's, son James, who had accompanied him to Lucknow. The prince and the colonel mounted their horses, and rode after him; but they were so much heavier and older than the young ones, that they soon gave up the chase in despair. Sooleeman Shekoh insisted upon the colonel immediately fighting him, after the fashion of the English, with swords or pistols, but was soon persuaded that the honour of the house of Tymour would be much better preserved by allowing the offending parties to marry.* The King of Oude was delighted to find that the old man had been so punished; and the queen no less so to find herself so suddenly and unexpectedly relieved from all dread of her sister's return. All parties wrote to my friend

* The colonel's son has succeeded to his father's estates, and he and his wife are, I believe, very happy together.

Kam Buksh, who was then at Jubbulpore; and he came off with their letters to me, to ask whether I thought the incident might not be turned to account in getting the pension for his father restored.

CHAPTER VI.

FUTTEHPORE SECREE—THE EMPEROR AKBAR'S PILGRIMAGE —BIRTH OF JEHANGEER.

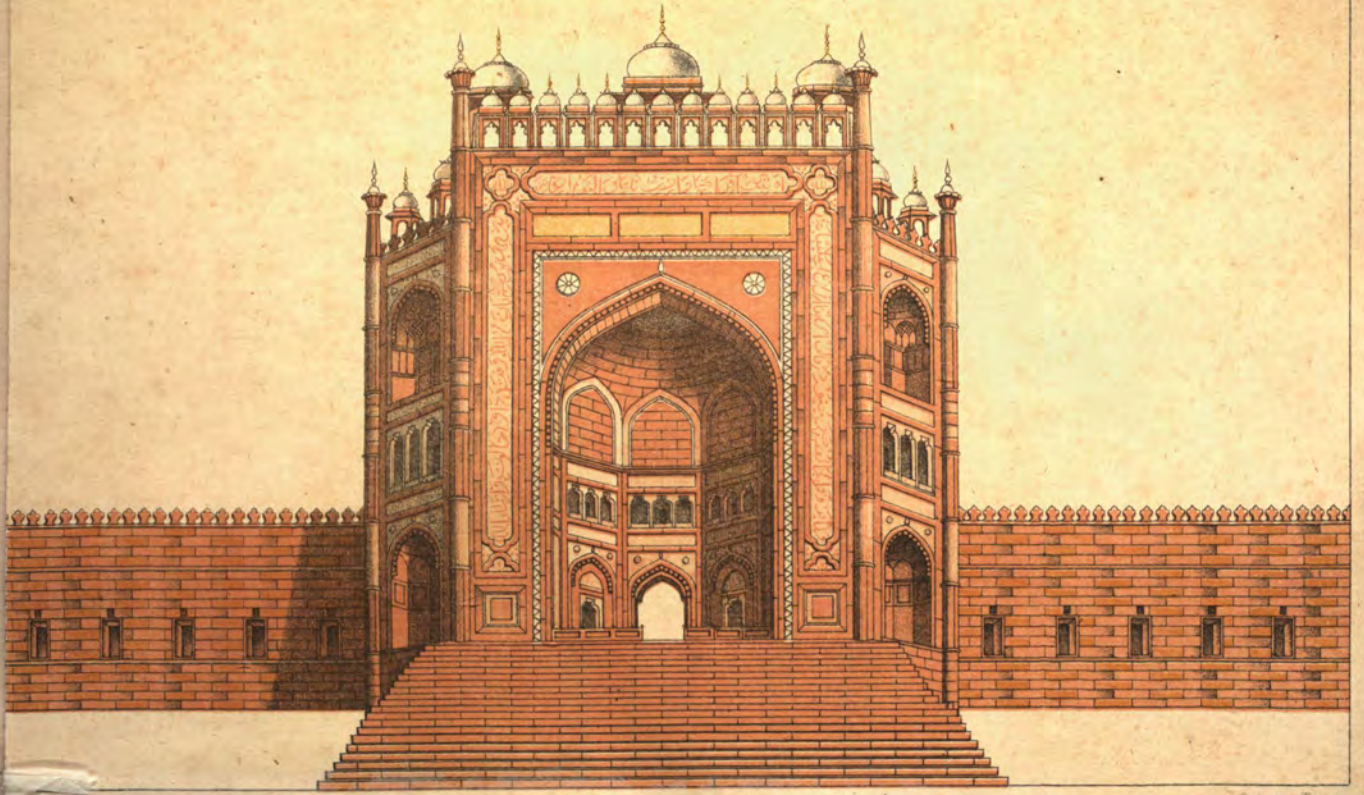
On the 6th January we left Agra, which soon after became the residence of the Governor of the north-western provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe. It was when I was there the residence of a civil commissioner, a judge, a magistrate, a collector of land revenue, a collector of customs, and all their assistants and establishments. A brigadier commands the station, which contained a park of artillery, one regiment of European, and four regiments of native infantry. Near the artillery practice-ground, we passed the tomb of Jodha Baee, the wife of the Emperor Akbar and the mother of Jehangeer. She was of Rajpoot caste, daughter of the Hindoo chief of Joudhpore, a very beautiful, and it is said a very amiable woman. The Mogul Emperors, though Mahomedans, were then in the habit of taking their wives from among the Rajpoot princes of the coun-

try, with a view to secure their allegiance. The tomb itself is in ruins, having only part of the dome standing, and the walls and magnificent gateways that at one time surrounded it have been all taken away and sold by a *thrifty* government, or appropriated to purposes of more practical utility. I have heard many Mahomedans say, that they could trace the decline of their empire in Hindoostan to the loss of the Rajpoot blood in the veins of their princes. Better blood than that of the Rajpoots of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings; or, what is the same thing, no blood was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination; and the imagination is all powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebeianised by the battle of Hastings; and how difficult would it be for any of us to say from

which we descended, the Britons or the Saxons—the Danes or the Normans; or in what particular action our ancestors were the victors or the vanquished, and became ennobled or plebeianised by the thousand accidents which influence the fate of battles! A series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours will commonly give a nation a notion that they are superior in courage; and pride will make them attribute this superiority to blood—that is, to an old date. This was perhaps never more exemplified than in the case of the Gorkhas of Nepaul, a small diminutive race of men, not much unlike the Huns, but certainly as brave as any men can possibly be. A Gorkha thought himself equal to any four other men of the hills, though they were all much stronger; just as a Dane thought himself equal to four Saxons at one time in Britain. The other men of the hills began to think that he really was so, and could not stand before him.

We passed many wells from which the people were watering their fields; and found those which yielded a brackish water were considered to be much more valuable for irrigation than those which yielded sweet water. It is the same in the valley of the Nerbudda; but brackish water does not suit some soils and some crops. On the 8th, we reached Futtehpore Secree, which lies about twenty-four miles from Agra, and stands upon the back of a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, rising abruptly from the alluvial plains, to the highest about one

hundred and fifty feet; and extends three miles north-north-east, and south-south-west. This place owes its celebrity to a Mahomedan saint, the Sheikh Saleem of Cheest, a town in Persia, who owed his to the following circumstance. The Emperor Akbar's sons had all died in infancy, and he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the celebrated Moin-od-deen of Cheest, at Ajmere. He and his family went all the way on foot at the rate of three koss or four miles a day, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. Kānnāts, or cloth walls, were raised on each side of the road, carpets spread over it, and high towers of burnt bricks erected at every stage, to mark the places where he rested. On reaching the shrine, he made a supplication to the saint, who at night appeared to him *in his sleep*, and recommended him to go and entreat the intercession of a very holy old man, who lived a secluded life upon the top of the little range of hills at Secree. He went accordingly, and was assured by the old man, then ninety-six years of age, that the Empress, Jodha Baee, the daughter of a Hindoo prince, would be delivered of a son, who would live to a good old age. She was then pregnant, and remained in the vicinity of the old man's hermitage till her confinement, which took place 31st of August, 1569. The infant was called after the hermit, Mirza Saleem; and became in time Emperor of Hindoostan, under the name of Jehangeer. It was to this Emperor, Jehangeer, that Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, was



GATEWAY TO THE TOMB OF THE SAINT SALEEM

Dedicated by Command to the Queen.

Quinet & Chromo

sent from the English court. Akbar, in order to secure to himself, his family, and his people, the advantage of the continued intercessions of so holy a man, took up his residence at Secree, and covered the hill with magnificent buildings for himself, his courtiers, and his public establishments.

The quadrangle which contains the mosque on the west side, and tomb of the old hermit in the centre, was completed in the year 1578, six years before his death; and is perhaps one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within. On the outside, is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide. This gateway is no doubt extremely grand and beautiful; but what strikes one most is, the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided—there seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through, and walk he must unless he is carried through on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock could ascend over the flight of steps. In all these places the staircases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small; they look as if they were made for rats to

crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under! One of the most interesting sights, was the immense swarms of swallows flying round the thick bed of nests that occupy the apex of this arch; and to the spectators below, they look precisely like a swarm of bees round a large honeycomb. I quoted a passage in the Koran in praise of the swallows, and asked the guardians of the place, whether they did not think themselves happy in having such swarms of sacred birds over their heads all day long? "Not at all," said they; "they oblige us to sweep the gateway ten times a day, but there is no getting at their nests, or we should soon get rid of them." They then told me that the sacred bird of the Koran was the abadeel or large black swallow, and not the purtadeel, a little piebald thing of no religious merit whatever.* On the right side of the entrance is engraven on stone in large letters standing out in bas relief, the following passage in Arabic: "Jesus, on whom be peace, has said, the world is merely a bridge; you are to pass over it, and not to build your dwellings upon it." Where this saying of Christ is to be found, I know not; nor has any Mahomedan yet been able to tell

* See the 105th chapter of the Koran. "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the elephant? Did he not make their treacherous designs an occasion of drawing them into error; and send against them flocks of *swallows* which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and rendered them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle?"

me; but the quoting of such a passage, in such a place, is a proof of the absence of all bigotry on the part of Akbar.

The tomb of Sheikh Saleem, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. The man who guards it told me, that the Jâts, while they reigned, robbed this tomb as well as those at Agra, of some of the most beautiful and valuable portion of the mosaic work. "But," said he, "they were well plundered in their turn by your troops at Bhurtpore! retribution always follows the wicked sooner or later."* He showed us the little roof of stone tiles, close to the original little dingy mosque of the old hermit, where the Empress gave birth to Jehangeer; and told us, that she was a very sensible woman, whose councils had great weight with the Emperor.† "His majesty's only fault was,"

* We besieged and took Bhurtpore in order to rescue the young prince, our ally, from his uncle, who had forcibly assumed the office of prime minister to his nephew. As soon as we got possession, all the property we found belonging either to the nephew or the uncle, was declared to be prize money, and taken for the troops. The young prince was obliged to borrow an elephant from the prize agents to ride upon. He has ever since enjoyed the whole of the revenue of his large territory.

† The people of India, no doubt, owed much of the good they enjoyed under the long reign of Akbar, to this most excellent woman, who inspired not only her husband but the most able Mahomedan minister that India has ever had, with feelings of universal benevolence. It was from her that this great minister, Abul Fuzul, derived the spirit that dictated the following passages in his admirable work, the Acen Akberee: "Every sect becomes

he said, "an inclination to learn the art of magic, which was taught him by an old Hindoo religious mendicant," whose apartment near the palace he pointed out to us.

"Fortunately," said our cicerone, "the fellow

infatuated with its particular doctrines; animosity and dissension prevail, and each man deeming the tenets of his sect to be the dictates of truth itself, aims at the destruction of all others, vilifies reputation, stains the earth with blood, and has the vanity to imagine that he is performing meritorious actions. Were the voice of reason attended to, mankind would be sensible of their error, and lament the weaknesses which led them to interfere in the religious concerns of each other. Persecution after all defeats its own end; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them.

"Summarily, the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, prone to inflict austerities on themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. This character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle: when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour. They have great respect for their tutors; and make no account of their lives when they can devote them to the service of their God.

"They consider the Supreme Being to be above all labour, and believe Brahmah to be the creator of the world, Vishnu its preserver, and Sewa its destroyer. But one sect believes that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under the three abovementioned forms, without having been thereby polluted in the smallest degree, in the same manner as the Christians speak of the Messiah; others hold that all these were only human beings, who, on account of their sanctity and righteousness, were raised to these high dignities."

died before the Emperor had learnt enough to practise the art without his aid."

Sheikh Saleem had, he declared, gone more than twenty times on pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy prophet; and was not much pleased to have his repose so much disturbed by all the noise and bustle of the imperial court. At last, Akbar wanted to surround the hill by regular fortifications; and the Sheikh could stand it no longer. "Either you or I must leave this hill," said he to the Emperor; "if the efficacy of my prayers is no longer to be relied upon, let me depart in peace!" "If it be *your majesty's* will," replied the Emperor, "that one should go, let it be your slave, I pray!" The old story:—there is nothing like relying upon the efficacy of our prayers, say the priests—nothing like relying upon that of our sharp swords, say the soldiers; and as nations advance from barbarism, they generally contrive to divide between them the surplus produce of the land and labour of society. The old hermit consented to remain, and pointed out Agra as a place which he thought would answer the Emperor's purpose extremely well! Agra, then an unpeopled waste, soon became a city, and Futtehpore Secree was deserted. Cities which, like this, are maintained by the public establishments that attend and surround the courts of sovereign princes, must always, like this, become deserted when these sovereigns change their resting-places. To the history of the rise and progress, decline and fall, of how many cities is this the key?

Close to the tomb of the saint, is another containing the remains of a great number of his descendants, who continue to enjoy, under the successors of Akbar, large grants of rent-free lands for their own support, and for that of the mosque and mausoleum. These grants have by degrees been nearly all resumed; and as the repair of the buildings is now entrusted to the public officers of our government, the surviving members of the saint's family, who still reside among the ruins, are extremely poor. What strikes an European most in going over these palaces of the Mogul Emperors is, the want of what a gentleman of fortune in his own country would consider elegantly comfortable accommodations. Five hundred pounds a year would at the present day secure him more of this in any civilized country of Europe or America, than the greatest of those Emperors could command. He would perhaps have the same impression in going over the domestic architecture of the most civilized nations of the ancient world, Persia and Egypt, Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

BHURTPORE—DEEG—WANT OF EMPLOYMENT FOR THE MILITARY AND THE EDUCATED CLASSES UNDER THE COMPANY'S RULE.

Our old friends, Mr. Charles Fraser, the commissioner of the Agra division, then on his circuit, and Major Godby, had come on with us from Agra, and made our party very agreeable. On the 9th, we went fourteen miles to Bhurtpore, over a plain of alluvial but seemingly poor soil, intersected by one low range of sandstone hills running north-east and south-west. The thick belt of jungle, three miles wide, with which the chiefs of Bhurtpore used to surround their fortress while they were free-booters, and always liable to be brought into collision with their neighbours, has been fast diminishing since the capture of the place by our troops in 1826; and will very soon disappear altogether, and give place to rich sheets of cultivation, and happy little village communities. Our tents had been pitched

close outside the Mutra gate, near a small grove of fruit trees, which formed the left flank of the last attack on this fortress by Lord Combermere. Major Godby had been present during the whole siege; and as we went round the place in the evening on our elephants, he pointed out all the points of attack, and told all the anecdotes of the day that were interesting enough to be remembered for ten years. We went through the town, out at the opposite gate, and passed along the line of Lord Lake's attack in 1804. All the points of his attack were also pointed out to us by our cicerone, an old officer in the service of the Rajah. It happened to be the anniversary of the first attempt to storm, which was made on the 9th of January, thirty-one years before. One old officer told us that he remembered Lord Lake sitting with three other gentlemen on chairs not more than half a mile from the ramparts of the fort.

The old man thought that the men of those days were quite a different sort of thing to the men of the present day, as well those who defended, as those who attacked the fort; and if the truth must be told, he thought that the European lords and gentlemen had fallen off in the same scale as the rest. "But," said the old man, "all these things are matter of destiny and providence. Upon that very bastion, (pointing to the right point of Lord Lake's attack,) stood a large twenty-four pounder, which was loaded and discharged three times by super-

natural agency during one of your attacks—not a living soul was near it." We all smiled incredulous; and the old man offered to bring a score of witnesses to the fact, men of unquestionable veracity! The left point of Lord Lake's attack was the Buldeo bastion, so called after Buldeo Sing, the second son of the then reigning chief, Runjeet Sing. He succeeded his father, and left the government to his adopted son, the present young chief, Bulwunt Sing. The feats which Hector performed in the defence of Troy sink into utter insignificance before those which Buldeo performed in the defence of Bhurtpore, according to the best testimony of the survivors of that great day. "But," said the old man, "he was, of course, acting under supernatural influence; he condescended to measure swords only with Europeans;" and their bodies filled the whole bastion in which he stood, according to the belief of the people, though no European entered it, I believe, during the whole siege. They pointed out to us where the different corps were posted. There was one corps which had signalized itself a good deal, but of which I had never before heard, though all around me seemed extremely well acquainted with it—this was the "*Unta Goorgoors.*" At last Godby came to my side, and told me this was the name by which the Bombay troops were always known in Bengal, though no one seemed to know whence it came. I am disposed to think that they derive it from the peculiar form of the caps of their sipahees,

which are in form like the common hookah, called a goorgooree, with a small ball at the top, like an unta, or tennis, or billiard ball: hence "Unta Goorgoors." The Bombay sipahees were, I am told, always very angry when they heard that they were known by this term—they have always behaved like good soldiers, and need not be ashamed of this or any other name.

The water in the lake, about a mile to the west of Bhurtpore, stands higher than the ground about the fortress; and a drain had been opened through which the water rushed in and filled the ditch all round the fort and great part of the plain to the south and east, before Lord Lake undertook the siege in 1804. This water might, I believe, have been taken off to the eastward into the Jumna, had the outlet been discovered by the engineers. An attempt was made to cut the same drain on the approach of Lord Combermere in 1826; but a party went on, and stopped the work before much water had passed, and the ditch was almost dry when the siege began.

The walls being all of mud and now dismantled, had a wretched appearance; and the town, which is contained within them, is, though very populous, a mere collection of wretched hovels: the only respectable habitation within is the palace, which consists of three detached buildings, one for the chief, another for the females of his family, and the third for his court of justice. I could not find a single

trace of the European officers who had been killed here, either at the first or second siege, though I had been told that a small tomb had been built in a neighbouring grove over the remains of Brigadier-General Edwards, who fell in the last storm. It is, I believe, the only one that has ever been raised. The scenes of battles fought by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, were commonly crowded with magnificent tombs built over the slain, and provided for a time with the means of maintaining holy men who read the Koran over their graves. Not that this duty was necessary for the repose of their souls, for every Mahomedan killed in fighting against men who believed not in his prophet, no matter what the cause of quarrel, went, as a matter of course, to paradise; and every unbeliever, killed in the same action, went as surely to hell! There are only a few hundred men, exclusive of the prophets, who, according to Mahomed, have the first place in paradise—those who shared in one or other of his first three battles, and believed in his holy mission before they had the evidence of a single victory over the unbelievers to support it. At the head of these are the men who accompanied him in his flight from Mecca to Medina, when he had no evidence either from *victories* or *miracles*. In all such matters, the less the evidence adduced in proof of a mission the greater the merit of those who believe in it, according to the person who pretends to it; and unhappily, the less the evidence a man has for his faith, the

greater is his anger against other men for not joining in it with him. No man gets very angry with another for not joining with him in his faith in the demonstration of a problem in mathematics. Man likes to think that he is on the way to heaven upon such easy terms; but gets angry at the notion that others won't join him, because they *may* consider him an imbecile for thinking that he is so. The Mahomedan generals and historians are sometimes almost as concise as Cæsar himself in describing very conscientiously a battle of this kind; instead of I came, I saw, I conquered—it is, "ten thousand Mussulmans on that day tasted of the blessed fruit of paradise, after sending fifty thousand unbelievers to the flames of hell!"

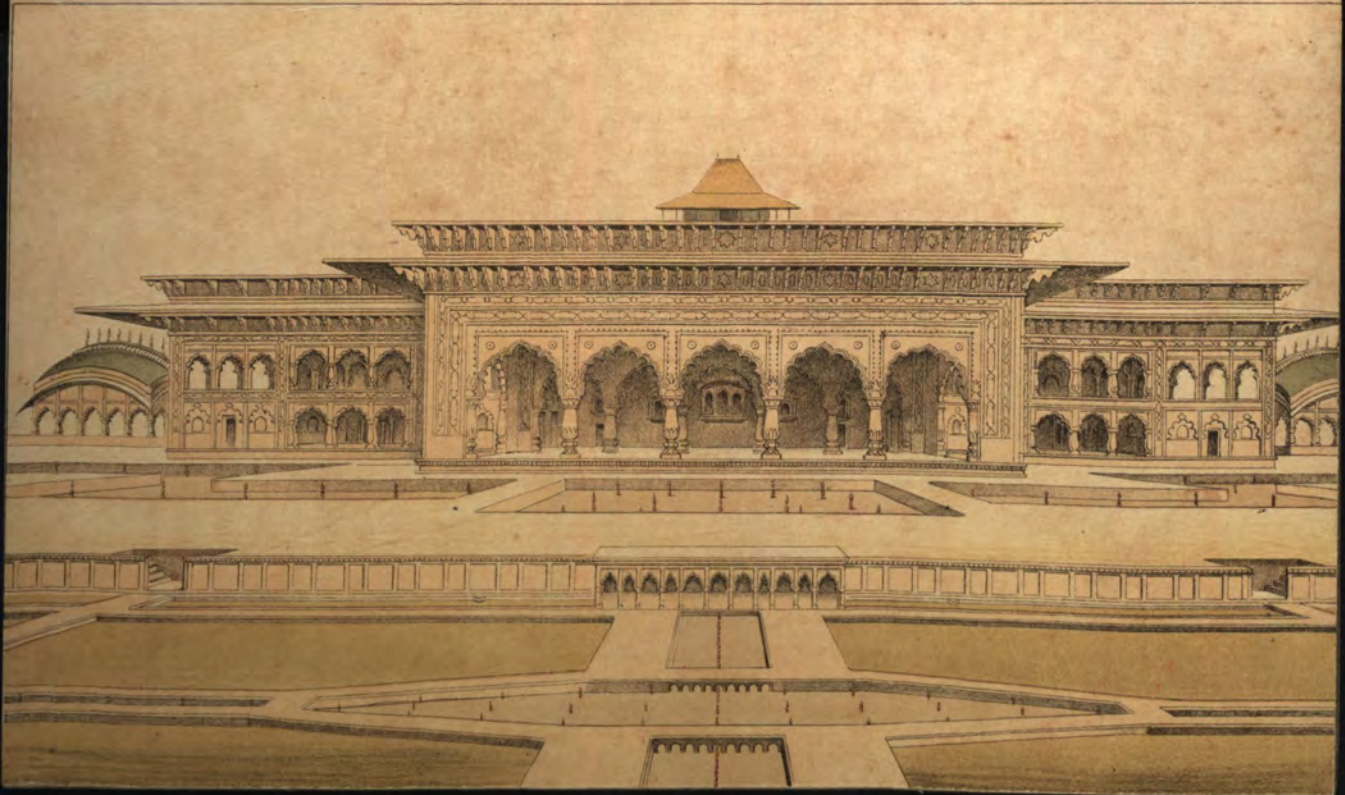
On the 10th, we came on twelve miles to Koombeer, over a plain of poor soil, much impregnated with salt, and with some works in which salt is made, with solar evaporation. The earth is dug up—water filtered through it, and drawn off into small square beds, where it is evaporated by exposure to the solar heat. The gate of this fort leading out to the road we came is called, modestly enough, after Koombeer, a place only ten miles distant; that leading to Mutra, three or four stages distant, is called the Mutra gate. At Delhi, the gates of the city wall are called ostentatiously after distant places: the *Cashmere*, the *Cabool*, the *Constantinople gates*. Outside the Koombeer gate, I saw for the first time in my life, the well peculiar to upper India. It is

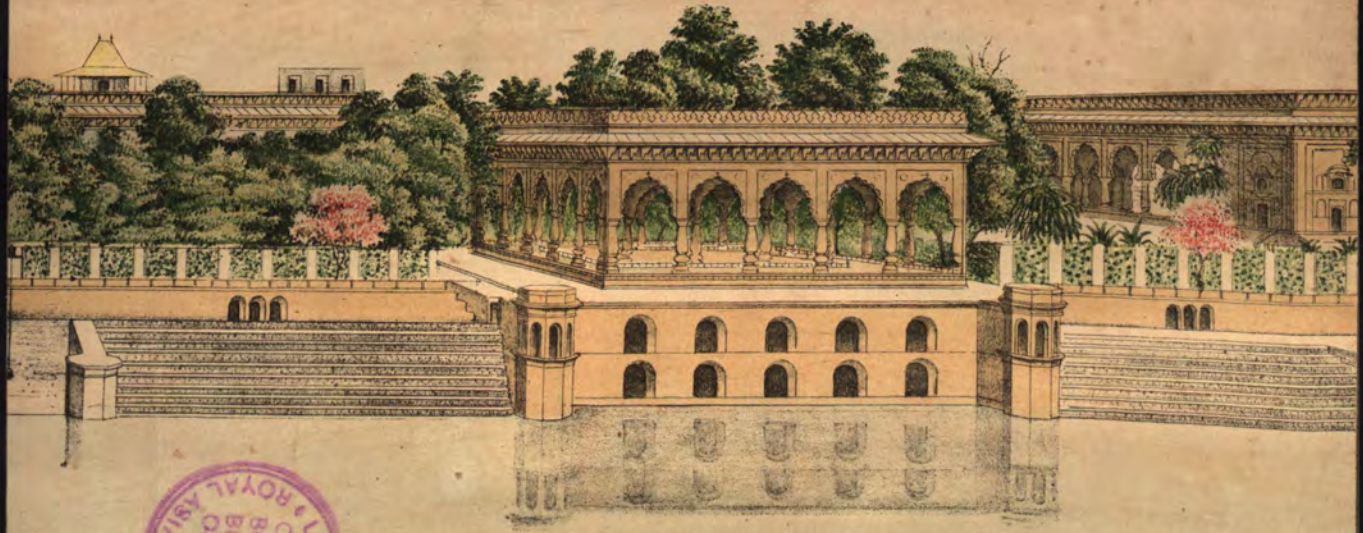
built up in the form of a round tower or cylindrical shell, of burnt bricks, well cemented with good mortar, and covered inside and out with good stucco work; and let down by degrees, as the earth is removed by men at work in digging under the light earthy or sandy foundation inside and out. This well is about twenty feet below and twenty feet above the surface, and had to be built higher as it was let into the ground.

On the 11th, we came on twelve miles to Deeg, over a plain of poor and badly cultivated soil, which must be almost all under water in the rains. This was and still is the country seat of the Jâts of Bhurtpore, who rose, as I have already stated, to wealth and power by aggressions upon their immediate neighbours, and the plunder of tribute on its way to the imperial capital, and of the baggage of passing armies during the contests for dominion that followed the death of the Emperors, and during the decline and fall of the empire. The Jâts found the morasses with which they were surrounded here a source of strength. They emigrated from the banks of the Indus about Moultan, and took up their abode by degrees on the banks of the Jumna, and those of the Chumbul, from their confluence upwards; where they became cultivators and robbers upon a small scale, till they had the means to build garrisons, when they entered the lists with princes, who were only robbers upon a large scale. The Jâts, like the Mahrattas, rose by a feeling of nationality among a people

who had none. Single landholders were every day rising to principalities by means of their gangs of robbers; but they could seldom be cemented under one common head by a bond of national feeling. They have a noble quadrangular garden at Deeg, surrounded by a high wall. In the centre of each of the four faces is one of the most beautiful Hindoo buildings for accommodation that I have ever seen, formed of a very fine grained sandstone brought from the quarries of Roopbas, which lie between thirty and forty miles to the south, and eight or ten miles south-west of Futtehpore Secree. These stones are brought in, in flags some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide and one thick, with sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The garden is four hundred and seventy-five feet long, by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on four sides leading up to the four buildings, each opening having from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading into them, an *avenue* of jets d'eau.

Deeg as much surpassed, as Bhurtpore fell short of my expectations. I had seen nothing in India of architectural beauty to be compared with the buildings in this garden, except at Agra. The useful and the elegant are here everywhere happily blended; nothing seems disproportionate, or unsuitable to the purpose for which it was designed; and all that one regrets is, that so beautiful a garden should be





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situated in so vile a swamp! There was a general complaint among the people of the town of a want of rozgar, (employment,) and its fruit subsistence: the taking of Bhurtpore had, they said, produced a sad change among them for the worse. Godby observed to some of the respectable men about us, who complained of this, "that happily their chief had now no enemy to employ them against." "But what," said they, "is a prince without an army? and why do you keep up yours now that all your enemies have been subdued?" "We want them," replied Godby, "to prevent our friends from cutting each other's throats, and to defend them all against a foreign enemy!" "True," said they, "but what are we to do who have nothing but our swords to depend upon, now that our chief no longer wants us, and you won't take us?" "And what," said some shopkeepers, "are we to do who provided these troops with clothes, food, and furniture, which they can no longer afford to pay for? *Company ka umul men kooch rozgar nuheen.* Under the Company's dominion there is no employment." This is too true; we do the soldier's work with one-tenth of the soldiers that had before been employed in it over the territories we acquire, and turn the other nine-tenths adrift. They all sink into the lowest class of religious mendicants, or retainers; or live among their friends as drones upon the land; while the manufacturing, trading, and commercial industry that provided them with the comforts, conveniences, and elegances of life while they

were in a higher grade of service, is in its turn thrown out of employment; and the whole frame of society becomes, for a time, deranged by the local diminution in the demand *for the services of men and the produce of their industry.* I say we do the soldiers' work with one-tenth of the numbers that were formerly required for it. I will mention an anecdote to illustrate this. In the year 1816, I was marching with my regiment from the Nepaul frontier, after the war, to Allahabad. We encamped about four miles from a mud fort, in the kingdom of Oude, and heard the guns of the Amil, or chief of the district, playing all day upon this fort, from which his batteries were removed at least two miles. He had three regiments of infantry, a corps or two of cavalry, and a good park of artillery; while the garrison consisted of only about two hundred stout Rajpoot landholders and cultivators, or yeomen. In the evening, just as we had sat down to dinner, a messenger came to the commanding officer, Colonel Gregory, who was a member of the mess, from the said Amil, and begged permission to deliver his message in private. I, as the senior staff officer, was requested to hear what he had to say.

"What do you require from the commanding officer?"

"I require the loan of the regiment."

"I know the commanding officer will not let you have the regiment."

"If the Amil cannot get more, he will be glad to

get two companies; and I have brought with me this bag of gold, containing some two or three hundred gold mohurs."

I delivered the message to Colonel Gregory, before all the officers, who desired me to say that he could not spare a single man, as he had no authority to assist the Amil, and was merely marching through the country to his destination. I did so. The man urged me to beg the commanding officer, if he could do no more, merely to halt the next day where he was, and lend the Amil the use of one of his drummers!

"And what will you do with him?"

"Why, just before daylight, we will take him down near one of the gates of the fort, and make him beat his drum as hard as he can; and the people within, thinking the whole regiment is upon them, will make out as fast as possible at the opposite gate."

"And the bag of gold, what is to become of that?"

"You and the old gentleman can divide it between you, and I will double it for you if you like."

I delivered the message before all the officers to their great amusement; and the poor man was obliged to carry back his bag of gold to the Amil. The Amil is the collector of the revenues in Oude, and he is armed with all the powers of government; and has generally several regiments and a train of artillery with him. The large landholders build these mud forts, which they defend by their Rajpoot cultivators, who are among the bravest men in the

world. One hundred of them would never hesitate to attack a thousand of the king's regular troops, because they know the Amil would be ashamed to have any noise made about it at court; but they know also, that if they were to beat one hundred of the Company's troops, they would soon have a thousand upon them; and if they were to beat one thousand, that they would soon have ten. They provide for the maintenance of those who are wounded in their flight, and for the widows and orphans of those who are killed. Their prince provides for neither, and his soldiers are in consequence somewhat chary of fighting. It is from this peasantry, the military cultivators of Oude, that our Bengal native infantry draws three out of four of its recruits, and finer young men for soldiers can hardly anywhere be found.

The advantage which arises to society from doing the soldiers' duty with a small number, has never been sufficiently appreciated in India; but it will become every day more and more manifest, as our dominion becomes more and more stable—for men who have lived by the sword do not in India like to live by anything else, or to see their children anything but soldiers. Under the former governments, men brought their own arms and horses to the service, and took them away with them again when discharged. The supply always greatly exceeded the demand for soldiers both in the cavalry and the infantry, and a very great portion of the men armed

and accoutred as soldiers, were always without service, roaming over the country in search of it. To such men, the profession next in rank after that of the soldier robbing in the service of the sovereign, was that of the robber plundering on his own account. "Materia munificentiæ per bella et raptus. Ne arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri: pigrum quinimo et iners videtur sudore adquinere, quod possis sanguine parare." "War and rapine supply the prince with the means of his munificence. You cannot persuade the German to cultivate the fields and wait patiently for the harvest, so easily as you can to challenge the enemy and expose himself to honourable wounds. They hold it to be base and dishonourable to earn by the sweat of their brow what they might acquire by their blood."

The equestrian robber had his horse, and was called "Ghurasee," horse-robber, a term which he never thought disgraceful. The foot-robber under the native government stood in the same relation to the horse-robber as the foot soldier to the horse soldier, because the trooper furnished his own horses, arms and accoutrements, and considered himself a man of rank and wealth compared with the foot soldier: both however had the wherewithal to rob the traveller on the highway; and in the intervals between wars, the high roads were covered with them. There was a time in England, it is said, when the supply of clergymen was so great compared with

the demand for them, from the undue stimulus given to clerical education, that it was not thought disgraceful for them to take to robbing on the highway; and all the high roads were in consequence infested by them. How much more likely is a soldier to consider himself justified in this pursuit, and to be held so by the feelings of the society in general, when he seeks in vain for regular service under his sovereign and his viceroys.

The individual soldiers not only armed, accoutred, and mounted themselves, but they generally ranged themselves under leaders, and formed well-organized bands ready for any purpose of war or plunder. They followed the fortunes of such leaders whether in service or out of it; and when dismissed from that of their sovereign, they assisted them in robbing on the highway, or in pillaging the country till the sovereign was constrained to take them back, or give them estates in rent-free tenure for their maintenance and that of their followers.

All this is reversed under our government. We do the soldiers' work much better than it was ever before done with one-tenth—nay, I may say, one-fiftieth part of the numbers that were employed to do it by our predecessors; and the whole number of the soldiers employed by us is not equal to that of those who were under them actually in the transition state, or on their way from the place where they had lost service, to that where they hoped to find it; extorting the means of subsistence either by intimi-

dation or by open violence. Those who are in this transition state under us, are neither armed, accoutred nor mounted; we do not disband *en masse*, we only dismiss individuals for offences, and they have no leaders to range themselves under. Those who come to seek our service are the sons of yeomen, bred up from their infancy with all those feelings of deference for superiors which we require in soldiers. They have neither arms, horses, nor accoutrements; and when they leave us permanently or temporarily, they take none with them—they never rob or steal —they will often dispute with the shopkeepers on the road about the price of provisions, or get a man to carry their bundles gratis for a few miles, but this is the utmost of their transgressions, and for these things they are often severely handled by our police.

It is extremely gratifying to an Englishman to hear the general testimony borne by all classes of people to the merits of our rule in this respect; they all say that no former government ever devoted so much attention to the formation of good roads and to the protection of those who travel on them; and much of the security arises from the change I have here remarked in the character and number of our military establishments. It is equally gratifying to reflect that the advantages must go on increasing, as those who have been thrown out of employment in the army, find other occupations for themselves and their children; for find them they must or turn

mendicants, if India should be blessed with a long interval of peace. All soldiers under us who have served the government faithfully for a certain number of years, are, when no longer fit for the active duties of their profession, sent back with the means of subsistence in honourable retirement for the rest of their lives among their families and friends, where they form, as it were, fountains of good feeling towards the government they have served. Under former governments, a trooper was discharged as soon as his horse got disabled, and a foot soldier as soon as he got disabled himself, no matter how—whether in the service of the prince or otherwise; no matter how long they had served, whether they were still fit for any other service or not. Like the old soldier in Gil Blas, they turned robbers on the highway, where they could still present a spear or a matchlock at a traveller, though no longer deemed worthy to serve in our ranks of the army. Nothing tended so much to the civilization of Europe as the substitution of standing armies for militia; and nothing has tended so much to the improvement of India under our rule. The troops to which our standing armies in India succeeded, were much the same in character as those licentious bodies to which the standing armies of the different nations of Europe succeeded; and the result has been, and will, I hope, continue to be the same, highly beneficial to the great mass of the people.

By a statute of Elizabeth it was made a capital

offence, felony without benefit of clergy, for soldiers or sailors to beg on the high roads without a pass; and I suppose this statute arose from their frequently robbing on the highways in the character of beggars. There must at that time have been an immense number of soldiers in the transition state in England; men who disdained the labours of peaceful life, or had by long habit become unfitted for them. Religious mendicity has hitherto been the great safety valve through which the unquiet transition spirit has found vent under our strong and settled government. A Hindoo of any caste may become a religious mendicant of the two great monastic orders of Gosaens, who are disciples of Sewa, and Byragies, who are disciples of Vishnoo; and any Mahomedan may become a Fakeer—and Gosaens, Byragies, and Fakeers, can always secure or extort food from the communities they visit.

Still, however, there is enough of this unquiet transition spirit left to give anxiety to a settled government; for the moment insurrection breaks out at any point, from whatever cause, to that point thousands are found flocking from north, east, west, and south, with their arms and their horses, if they happen to have any, in the hope of finding service either under the local authorities or the insurgents themselves; as the troubled winds of heaven rush to the point where the pressure of the atmosphere has been diminished.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERDHUN, THE SCENE OF KRISHNA'S DALLIANCE WITH THE MILK-MAIDS.

On the 10th, we came on ten miles over a plain to Goverdhun, a place celebrated in ancient history as the birth-place of Krishna, the seventh incarnation of the Hindoo god of preservation, Vishnoo, and the scene of his dalliance with the milk-maids, (gofrees;) and in modern days, as the burial or burning place of the Jât chiefs of Bhurtpore and Deeg, by whose tombs, with their endowments, this once favourite abode of the god is prevented from being entirely deserted. The town stands upon a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, about ten miles long, rising suddenly out of the alluvial plain, and running north, east, and south-west. The population is now very small and composed chiefly of Brahmans, who are supported by the endowments of these tombs, and the contributions of a few pilgrims. All our Hindoo followers were much gratified, as we happened to

arrive on a day of peculiar sanctity; and they were enabled to bathe and perform their devotions to the different shrines with the prospect of great advantage. This range of hills is believed by Hindoos, to be part of a fragment of the Himmalah mountains which Hunnooman, the monkey general of Ram, the sixth incarnation of Vishnoo, was taking down to aid his master in the formation of his bridge from the continent to the island of Ceylon, when engaged in the war with the demon king of that island for the recovery of his wife Seeta. He made a false step by some accident in passing Goverdhun, and this *small bit* of his load fell off. The rocks begged either to be taken on to the god Ram, or back to their old place; but Hunnooman was hard pressed for time, and told them not to be uneasy, as they would have a comfortable resting place, and be worshipped by millions in future ages — thus, according to popular belief, foretelling that it would become the residence of a future incarnation, and the scene of Krishna's miracles. The range was then about twenty miles long, ten having since disappeared under the ground. It was of full length during Krishna's days; and on one occasion he took up the whole upon his little finger, to defend his favourite town and its *milk-maids* from the wrath of Judar, who got angry with the people, and poured down upon them a shower of burning ashes!

As I rode along this range, which rises gently from the plains at both ends and abruptly from the

sides, with my groom by my side, I asked him what made Hunnooman drop all his burthen here?

"*All* his burthen!" exclaimed he with a smile; "had it been *all* would it not have been an immense mountain, with all its towns and villages; while this is but an insignificant belt of rock! A mountain upon the back of the men of former days, sir, was no more than a bundle of grass upon the back of one of your grass-cutters in the present day."

Nuthoo, whose mind had been full of the wonders of this place, from his infancy, happened to be with us, and he now chimed in.

"It was night when Hunnooman passed this place; and the lamps were seen burning in a hundred towns upon the mountain he had upon his back —the people were all at their usual occupations, quite undisturbed; this is a mere fragment of his great burthen!"

"And how was it that the men of those towns should have been so much smaller than the men who carried them?"

"God only knew; but the fact of the men of the plains having been so large was undisputed—their beards were as many miles long as those of the present day are inches! Did not Bheem throw the forty cubit stone pillar, that now stands at Eerun, a distance of thirty miles, after the man who was running away with his cattle!"

I thought of poor father Gregory at Agra; and the heavy sigh he gave when asked by Godby what

progress he was making among the people in the way of conversion. The faith of these people is certainly larger than all themustard-seeds in theworld!

I told a very opulent and respectable Hindoo banker one day, that it seemed to us strange that Vishnoo should come upon the earth merely to sport with milk-maids, and to hold up an umbrella, however large, to defend them from a shower. "The earth, sir," said he, "was at that time infested with innumerable demons and giants, who swallowed up men and women as bears swallow white ants; and his highness, Krishna, came down to destroy them. His own mother's brother, Kuns, who then reigned at Mutra over Goverdhun, was one of these horrible demons. Hearing that his sister would give birth to a son, that was to destroy him, he put to death several of her progeny as soon as they were born. When Krishna was seven days old, he sent a nurse, with poison on her nipple, to destroy him likewise; but his highness gave such a pull at it, that the nurse dropped down dead! In falling she resumed her real shape of a she demon, and her body covered no less than six square miles; and it took several thousand men to cut her up, and burn her, and prevent the pestilence that must have followed. His uncle then sent a crane, which caught up his highness, who always looked very small for his age, and swallowed him as he would swallow a frog! But his highness kicked up such a rumpus in the bird's stomach, that

he was immediately thrown up again. When he was seven years old his uncle invited him to a feast, and got the largest and most ferocious elephant in India to tread him to death as he alighted at the door. His highness, though then not higher than my waist, took the enormous beast by one tusk, and after whirling him round in the air with one hand half a dozen times, he dashed him on the ground and killed him! Unable any longer to stand the wickedness of his uncle, he seized him by the beard, dragged him from his throne, and dashed him to the ground in the same manner."

I thought of poor old Father Gregory and the mustard-seeds again; and told my rich old friend, that it all appeared to us indeed passing strange!

The orthodox belief among the Mahomedans is, that Moses was sixty yards high; that he carried a mace sixty yards long; and that he sprang sixty yards from the ground, when he aimed the fatal blow at the giant Ooj, the son of Anak, who came from the land of Canaan, with a mountain upon his back, to crush the army of Israelites. Still the head of his mace could reach only to the ankle-bone of the giant. This was broken with the blow! The giant fell, and was crushed under the weight of his own mountain. Now, a person whose ankle-bone was one hundred and eighty yards high, must have been almost as prodigious as he who carried the fragment of the Himmalah upon his back; and he who be-

lieves in the one cannot fairly find fault with his neighbour for believing in the other.

I was one day talking with a very sensible and respectable Hindoo gentleman of Bundelcund, about the accident which made Hunnooman drop this fragment of his load at Goverdhun. "All doubts upon that point," said the old gentleman, "have been put at rest by holy writ. It is related in our scriptures.

"Bhurut, the brother of Ram, was left regent of the kingdom of Adjoodheea during his absence at the conquest of Ceylon. He happened at night to see Hunnooman passing with the mountain upon his back, and thinking he might be one of the king of Ceylon's demons about mischief, he let fly one of his blunt arrows at him. It hit him on the leg, and he fell, mountain and all, to the ground. As he fell he called out in his agony, 'Ram, Ram,' from which Bhurut discovered his mistake. He went up, raised him in his arms, and with his kind attentions restored him to his senses. Learning from him the object of his journey, and fearing that his wounded brother, Luckmun, would die before he could get to Ceylon with the requisite remedy, he offered to send Hunnooman on upon the barb of one of his arrows, mountain and all. To try him, Hunnooman took up his mountain, and seated himself with it upon the barb of the arrow, as desired. Bhurut placed the arrow to the string of his bow, and drawing it till the barb touched the bow, asked Hunnooman whether he

was ready. 'Quite ready,' said Hunnooman; 'but I am now satisfied that you are really the brother of our prince, and regent of his kingdom, which was all I desired. Pray let me descend; and be sure that I shall be at Ceylon in time to save your wounded brother. He got off, knelt down, placed his forehead on Bhurut's foot in submission, resumed his load, and was at Ceylon by the time the day broke next morning, leaving behind him the small and insignificant fragment, on which the town and temples of Goverdhun now stand.

"While little Krishna was frisking about among the milk-maids of Goverdhun," continued my old friend, "stealing their milk, cream, and butter, Brimha, the creator of the universe, who had heard of his being an incarnation of Vishnoo, the great preserver of the universe, visited the place, and had some misgivings, from his size and employment, as to his real character. To try him, he took off through the sky a herd of cattle, on which some of his favourite playmates were attending, old and young, boys and all. Krishna, knowing how much the parents of the boys, and owners of the cattle would be distressed, created, in a moment, another herd and other attendants, so exactly like those that Brimha had taken, that the owners of the one, and the parents of the other, remained ignorant of the change. Even the new creations themselves remained equally ignorant; and the cattle walked into their stalls, and the boys into their houses, where they recognised and

were recognised by their parents, as if nothing had happened.

"Brimha was now satisfied that Krishna was a true incarnation of Vishnoo, and restored to him the real herd and attendants. The others were removed out of the way by Krishna, as soon as he saw the real ones coming back."

"But," said I to the good old man, who told me this with a grave face, "must they not have suffered in passing from the life given to death; and why create them merely to destroy them again?"

"Was he not god the creator himself?" said the old man; "does he not send one generation into the world after another to fulfil their destiny, and then to return to the earth from which they came, just as he spreads over the land the grass and the corn? all is gathered in its season, or withers as that passes away, and dies."

The old gentleman might have quoted Wordsworth—

> . . . . "We die, my friend,
> Nor we alone, but that which each man loved
> And prized in his peculiar nook of earth
> Dies with him, or is changed; and very soon,
> Even of the good is no memorial left."

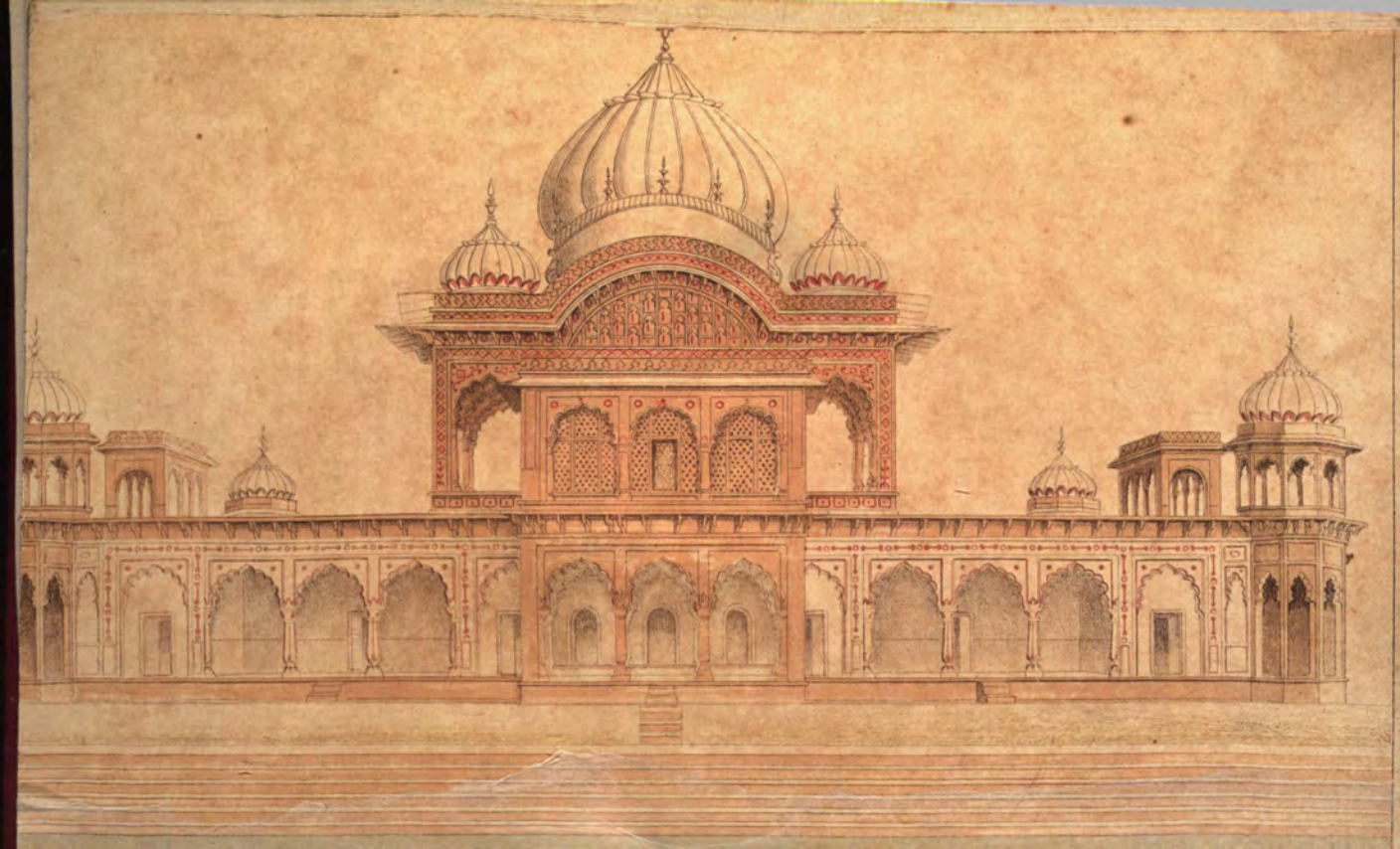
I was one day out shooting with my friend, the Rajah of Myhere, under the Vindhya range, which rises five or six hundred feet, almost perpendicularly. He was an excellent shot with an English double-

barrel, and had with him six men just as good. I asked him "whether we were likely to fall in with any hares," making use of the term "Khurgosh," or ass-eared.

"Certainly not," said the Rajah, "if you begin by abusing them with such a name; call them 'Lumkunas,' sir, long-eared, and we shall get plenty."

He shot one, and attributed my bad luck to the opprobrious name I had used. While he was reloading, I took occasion to ask him "how this range of hills had grown up where it was?"

"No one can say," replied the Rajah; "but we believe, that when Ram went to recover his wife, Seeta, from the demon king of Ceylon, Rawun, he wanted to throw a bridge across from the continent to the island, and sent some of his followers up to the Himmalah mountains for stones. He had completed his bridge before they all returned; and a messenger was sent to tell those who had not yet come, to throw down their burthens, and rejoin him in all haste. Two long lines of these people had got thus far, on their return, when the messenger met them. They threw down their loads here, and here they have remained ever since, one forming the Vindhya range to the north of this valley, and the other the Kymore range to the south. The Vindhya range extends from Mirzapore, on the Ganges, nearly to the Gulf of Cambay, some six or seven hundred miles, so that my sporting friend's faith was as capacious as any priest could well wish it; and those



who have it are likely never to die, or suffer much, from an overstretch of the reasoning faculties in a hot climate.

The town stands upon the belt of rocks, about two miles from its north-eastern extremity; and in the midst is the handsome tomb of Runjeet Sing, who defended Bhurtpore so bravely against Lord Lake's army. The tomb has, on one side, a tank filled with water: and on the other another, much deeper than the first, but without any water at all. We were surprised at this, and asked what the cause could be. The people told us, with the air of men who had never known what it was to feel the *uneasy sensation* of doubt, "that Krishna one hot day, after skying with the milk-maids, had drunk it all dry; and that no water would ever stay in it, lest it might be quaffed by less noble lips!" No orthodox Hindoo would ever for a moment doubt that this was the real cause of the phenomenon. Happy people! How much do they escape of that pain, which in hot climates wears us all down in our efforts to trace moral and physical phenomena to their real causes and sources! Mind! mind! mind! without any of it, those Europeans who eat and drink moderately, might get on very well in this climate. Much of it weighs them down.

> "Oh, sir, the good die first,
> And those whose hearts *(brains)* are dry as summer dust
> Burn to the socket."

One is apt sometimes to think that Mahomed,

Menu, and Confucius would have been great benefactors in saving so many millions of their species from the pain of thinking too much in hot climates, if they had only written their books in languages less difficult of acquirement! Their works are at once "the bane and antidote" of despotism—the source whence it comes, and the shield which defends the people from its consuming fire.

The tomb of Soorajmull, the great founder of the Jât power at Bhurtpore, stands on the north-east extremity of this belt of rocks, about two miles from the town, and is an extremely handsome building, conceived in the very best taste, and executed in the very best style.* With its appendages of temples and smaller tombs, it occupies the whole of one side of a magnificent tank full of clear water; and on the other side it looks into a large and beautiful garden. All the buildings and pavements are formed of the fine white sandstone of Roop Bass, scarcely inferior either in quality or appearance to white marble. The stone is carved in relief, with flowers in good taste. In the centre of the tomb is the small marble slab covering the grave, with the two feet of Krishna carved in the centre, and around them the emblems of the god, the discus, the skull, the sword, the rosary. These emblems of the god are put on, that people may have something *godly* to fix their thoughts upon. It is by degrees, and with a little "*fear and trembling*," that the Hindoos imitate the Mahome-

* See illustration.

dans in the magnificence of their tombs. The object is ostensibly to keep the ground on which the bodies have been burned from being defiled; and generally Hindoos have been content to raise small open terraces of brick and stucco work over the spot, with some image or emblem of the god upon it. The Jâts here, like the princes and Gosaens in Bundelcund, have gone a stage beyond this, and raised tombs, equal in costliness and beauty, to those over Mahomedans of the highest rank; still they will not venture to leave it without a divine image or emblem, lest the gods might become jealous, and revenge themselves upon the souls of the deceased, and the bodies of the living. On one side of Soorajmull's tomb is that of his wife, or some other female member of his family; and upon the slab over her grave, that is, over the precise spot where she was burned, are the same emblems, except the sword, for which a necklace is substituted. At each end of this range of tombs stands a temple dedicated to Buldeo, the brother of Krishna; and in one of them I found his image, with large eyes, a jet black complexion, and an *African countenance.* Why is this that Buldeo should be always represented of this countenance and colour; and his brother Krishna, either white, or of an azure colour, and the *Caucasian countenance?*

The inside of the tomb is covered with beautiful snow-white stucco work, that resembles the finest marble; but this is disfigured by wretched paint-

ings, representing, on one side of the dome, Sooraj-mull, in Durbar, smoking his hookah, and giving orders to his ministers; in another he is at his devotions; on the third, at his sports, shooting hogs and deer; and on the fourth, at war, with some French officers of distinction figuring before him. He is distinguished by his portly person in all, and by his favourite light-brown dress in three places. At his devotions he is standing all in white, before the tutelary god of his house, *Hurdeo*. In various parts, Krishna is represented at his sports with the milk-maids. The colours are gaudy, and apparently as fresh as when first put on eighty years ago; but the paintings are all in the worst possible taste and style. Inside the dome of Runjeet Sing's tomb, the siege of Bhurtpore is represented in the same rude taste and style. Lord Lake is dismounted, and standing before his white horse giving orders to his soldiers. On the opposite side of the dome, Runjeet Sing, in a plain white dress, is standing erect before his idol, at his devotions, with his ministers behind him. On the other two sides he is at his favourite field sports. What strikes one most in all this is the entire absence of *priestcraft*. He wanted all his revenue for his soldiers; and his tutelary god seems, in consequence, to have been well pleased to dispense with the mediatory services of priests. There are few temples anywhere to be seen in the territories of these Jât chiefs; and, as few of their subjects have yet ventured to follow them in this innovation upon

old Hindoo usages of building tombs, the countries under their dominion are less richly ornamented than those of their neighbours. Those who build tombs or temples generally surround them with groves of mangoe and other fine fruit trees, with good wells to supply water for them, and if they have the means they add tanks, so that every religious edifice, or work of ornament, leads to one or more of utility. So it was in Europe; often the northern hordes swept away all that had grown up under the institutions of the Romans and the Saracens: for almost all the great works of ornament and utility, by which these countries became first adorned and enriched, had their origin in church establishments. That portion of India, where the greater part of the revenue goes to the priesthood, will generally be much more studded with works of ornament and utility than that in which the greater part goes to the soldiery. I once asked a Hindoo gentleman, who had travelled all over India, What part of it he thought most happy and beautiful? He mentioned some part of southern India, about Tanjore, I think, where you could hardly go a mile without meeting a happy procession, or coming to a temple full of priests, or find an acre of land uncultivated.

The countries under the Mahratta government improved much in appearance, and in happiness, I believe, after the mayors of the palace, who were Brahmans, assumed the government, and put aside the Suttarah Rajahs, the descendants of the great

Sewajee. Wherever they could they conferred the government of their distant territories upon Brahmans, who filled all the high offices under them with men of the same caste, who spent the greater part of their incomes in tombs, temples, groves, and tanks, that embellished and enriched the face of the country, and thereby diffused a taste for such works generally among the people they governed. The appearance of those parts of the Mahratta dominion so governed is infinitely superior to that of the countries governed by the leaders of the military class, such as Scindheea, Hoolcar, and the Ghoosla, whose capitals are still mere standing camps—a collection of hovels; and whose countries are almost entirely devoid of all those works of ornament and utility that enrich and adorn those of their neighbours. They destroyed all they found in those countries when they conquered them; and they have had neither the wisdom nor the taste to raise others to supply their places. The Seikh government is of exactly the same character; and the countries they governed have, I believe, the same wretched appearance—they are swarms of human locusts, who prey upon all that is calculated to enrich and embellish the face of the land they infest, and all that can tend to improve men in their social relations, and to link their affection to their soil and their government. A Hindoo prince is always running to the extreme—he can never take and keep a middle course. He is either ambitious, and therefore appropriates

all his revenues to the maintenance of soldiers, to pour out in inroads upon his neighbours; or he is superstitious, and devotes all his revenue to his priesthood, who embellish his country at the same time that they weaken it, and invite invasion, as their prince becomes less and less able to repel it.

The more popular belief regarding this range of sandstone hills at Goverdhun is, that Luckmun, the brother of Ram, having been wounded by Rāwun, the demon king of Ceylon, his surgeon declared that his wound could be cured only by a decoction of the leaves of a certain tree, to be found in a certain hill in the Himmalah mountains. Hunnooman volunteered to go for it; but on reaching the place he found that he had entirely forgotten the description of the tree required; and, to prevent mistake, he took up the whole mountain upon his back, and walked off with it to the plains. As he passed Goverdhun, where Bhurut and Churut, the third and fourth brothers of Ram, then reigned, he was seen by them. It was night; and thinking him a strange sort of fish, Bhurut let fly one of his arrows at him. It hit him in the leg, and the sudden jerk caused this *small fragment* of his huge burden to fall off. He called out in his agony, *Ram, Ram*, from which they learned that he belonged to the army of their brother, and let him pass on; but he remained lame for life from the wound. This accounts very satisfactorily, according to popular belief, for the halting gait of all the monkeys of that species—those who

are descended lineally from the general, inherit it of course; and those who are not, adopt it out of respect for his memory, as all the soldiers of Alexander contrived to make one shoulder appear higher than another, because one of his happened to be so. When he passed, thousands and tens of thousands of lamps were burning upon his mountain, as the people remained entirely unconscious of the change, and at their usual occupations. Hunnooman reached Ceylon with his mountain, the tree was found upon it, and Luckmun's wound cured. Goverdhun is now within the boundary of our territory, and a native collector resides here from Agra.

CHAPTER IX.

VERACITY.

THE people of Britain are described by Diodorus Siculus (book v. chap. ii.) as in a very simple and rude state, subsisting almost entirely upon the raw produce of the land; "but as being a people of much integrity and sincerity, far from the craft and knavery of men among us, contented with plain and homely fare, and strangers to the luxury and excesses of the rich." In India we find strict veracity most prevalent among the wildest and half-savage tribes of the hills and jungles in central India, or the chain of the Himmalah mountains; and among those where we find it prevail most, we find cattle-stealing most common—the men of one tribe or one district not deeming it to be any disgrace to *lift*, or steal, the cattle of another. I have known the man among the Gonds of the woods of central India, whom nothing could induce to tell a lie, join a party of robbers to lift a herd of cattle from the neighbouring plains for no-

thing more than as much spirits as he could enjoy at one bout. I asked a native gentleman of the plains, in the valley of the Nerbudda one day, what made the people of the woods to the north and south more disposed to speak the truth than those more civilized of the valley itself? "They have not yet learned the value of a lie," said he, with the greatest simplicity and sincerity, for he was a very honest and plain spoken man.

Veracity is found to prevail most where there is least to tempt to falsehood, and most to be feared from it. In a very rude state of society, like that of which I have been speaking, the only shape in which property is accumulated is in cattle; things are bartered for each other without the use of a circulating medium; and one member of a community has no means of concealing from the other the articles of property he has. If they were to steal from each other, they would not be able to conceal what they stole—to steal, therefore, would be of no advantage. In such societies every little community is left to govern itself; to secure the rights, and enforce the duties of all its several members in their relations with each other: they are too poor to pay taxes to keep up expensive establishments, and their governments seldom maintain among them any for the administration of justice, or the protection of life, property, or character. All the members of such little communities will often unite in robbing the members of another community of their flocks and herds, the

only kind of property they have, or in applauding those who most distinguish themselves in such enterprises; but the well-being of the community demands that each member should respect the property of the others, and be punished by the odium of all if he does not.*

It is equally necessary to the well-being of the community, that every member should be able to rely upon the veracity of the other upon the very few points, where their rights, duties, and interests clash. In the very rudest state of society, among the woods and hills of India, the people have some deity whose power they dread, and whose name they invoke, when much is supposed to depend upon the truth of what one man is about to declare. The Peepul-tree (Ficus Indicus) is everywhere sacred to the gods, who are supposed to delight to sit among its leaves, and listen to the music of their rustling. The deponent takes one of these leaves in his hand, and invokes the god, who sits above him, to crush him, or those dear to him, as he crushes the leaf in his hand, if he speaks anything but the truth; he

* Johnson says, "Mountaineers are thievish because they are poor; and having neither manufactures nor commerce, can grow rich only by robbery. They regularly plunder their neighbours, for their neighbours are commonly their enemies; and having lost that reverence for property, by which the order of civil life is preserved, soon consider all as enemies, whom they do not reckon on as friends, and think themselves licensed to invade whatever they are not obliged to protect."

then plucks and crushes the leaf, and states what he has to say.

The large cotton-tree is among the wild tribes of India, the favourite seat of gods still more terrible, because their superintendence is confined exclusively to the neighbourhood; and having their attentions less occupied, they can venture to make a more minute scrutiny into the conduct of the people immediately around them. The Peepul is occupied by one or other of the Hindoo triad, the god of creation, preservation, or destruction, who have the affairs of the universe to look after; but the cotton and other trees are occupied by some minor deities, who are vested with a local superintendence over the affairs of a district, or perhaps of a single village. These are always in the view of the people, and every man knows that he is every moment liable to be taken to their court, and to be made to invoke their vengeance upon himself, or those dear to him, if he has told a falsehood in what he has stated, or tells one in what he is about to state. Men so situated adhere habitually, and, I may say religiously, to the truth; and I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, or life, has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it to save either—as my friend told me, "they had not learned the value of a lie," or rather they had not learned with how much impunity a lie could be told in the tribunals of civilized society. In their own tribunals, under the Peepul-tree or cotton-tree, imagi-

nation commonly did what the deities, who were supposed to preside, had the credit of doing; if the deponent told a lie, he believed that the deity who sat on the sylvan throne above him, and searched the heart of man, must know it; and from that moment he knew no rest—he was always in dread of his vengeance: if any accident happened to him, or to those dear to him, it was attributed to this offended deity; and if no accident happened, some evil was brought about by his own disordered imagination.

In the tribunals we introduce among them, such people soon find that the judges who preside can seldom search deeply into the hearts of men, or clearly distinguish truth from falsehood in the declarations of deponents; and when they can distinguish it, it is seldom that they can secure their conviction for perjury. They generally learn very soon, that these judges, instead of being, like the judges of their own woods and wilds, the only beings who can search the hearts of men, and punish them for falsehood, are frequently the persons, of all others, most blind to the real state of the deponent's mind, and the degree of truth and falsehood in his narrative; that, however well-intentioned, they are often labouring in the "darkness visible," created by the native officers around them. They not only learn this, but they learn what is still worse, that they may tell what lies they please in these tribunals; and that not one of them shall become known to the circle in which they move, and whose good opinion they

value. If, by his lies told in such tribunals, a man has robbed another, or caused him to be robbed of his property, his character, his liberty, or his life, he can easily persuade the circle in which he resides, that it has arisen, not from any false statements of his, but from the blindness of the judge, or the wickedness of the native officers of his court, because all circles consider the blindness of the one, and the wickedness of the other, to be everywhere very great.

Arrian, in speaking of the class of supervisors in India, says—"They may not be guilty of falsehood; and indeed none of the Indians were ever accused of that crime." I believe that as little falsehood is spoken by the people of India, in their village communities, as in any part of the world with an equal area and population. It is in our courts of justice where falsehoods prevail most, and the longer they have been anywhere established, the greater the degree of falsehood that prevails in them. Those entrusted with the administration of a newly-acquired territory, are surprised to find the disposition among both principals and witnesses in cases to tell the plain and simple truth. As magistrates, they find it very often difficult to make thieves and robbers tell lies, according to the English fashion, to avoid running a risk of criminating themselves. In England, this habit of making criminals tell lies, arose from the severity of the penal code, which made the punishment so monstrously disproportionate to the crime, that the accused, however clear and notorious

his crime, became an object of general sympathy. In India, punishments have nowhere been, under our rule, disproportionate to the crimes; on the contrary, they have been generally more mild than the people would wish them to be, or think they ought to be, in order to deter from similar crimes; and in newly-acquired territories they have generally been more mild than in our old possessions. The accused are, therefore, nowhere considered as objects of public sympathy; and in newly-acquired territories they are willing to tell the truth, and are allowed to do so, in order to save the people whom they have injured, and their neighbours generally, the great loss and annoyance unavoidably attending upon a summons to our courts. In the native courts, to which ours succeed, the truth was seen through immediately; the judges who presided could commonly distinguish truth from falsehood in the evidence before them, almost as well as the sylvan gods who sat in the peepul or cotton trees; though they were seldom supposed by the people to be quite so just in their decisions. When we take possession of such countries, they, for a time at least, give us credit for the same *sagacity*, with a little more *integrity*. The prisoner knows that his neighbours expect him to tell the truth to save them trouble, and will detest him if he does not; he supposes that we shall have the sense to find out the truth whether he tells it or not, and the humanity to visit his crime with the measure of punishment it merits, and no more.

The magistrate asks the prisoner what made him steal; and the prisoner enters at once into an explanation of the circumstances which reduced him to the necessity of doing so, and offers to bring witnesses to prove them; but never dreams of offering to bring witnesses to prove that *he did not steal*, if he really had done so—because the general feeling would be in favour of his doing the one, and against his doing the other. Tavernier gives an amusing sketch of Ameer Jumla presiding in a court of justice, during a visit he paid him in the kingdom of Golconda, in the year 1648. (See book i. part ii. chap. xi.)

I asked a native law officer, who called on me one day, what he thought would be the effect of an act to dispense with oaths on the Koran and Ganges water, and substitute a solemn declaration made in the name of God, and under the same penal liabilities, as if the Koran or Ganges water had been in the deponent's hand. "I have practised in the courts for thirty years, sir," said he; "and during that time I have found only three kinds of witnesses—two of whom would, by such an act, be left precisely where they were, while the third would be released by it from a very salutary check."

"And pray what are the three classes into which you divide the witnesses in our courts?"

"First, sir, are those who will always tell the truth, whether they are required to state what they know in the form of an oath or not."

"Do you think this a large class?"

"Yes, I think it is; and I have found among them many whom nothing on earth could make to swerve from the truth; do what you please, you could never frighten or bribe them into a deliberate falsehood. The second are those who will not hesitate to tell a lie when they have a motive for it, and are not restrained by an oath. In taking an oath they are afraid of two things, the anger of God and the odium of men. Only three days ago," continued my friend, "I required a power of attorney from a lady of rank, to enable me to act for her in a case pending before the court in this town. It was given to me by her brother; and two witnesses came to declare that she had given it. 'Now,' said I, 'this lady is known to live under the curtain; and you will be asked by the judge whether you saw her give this paper: what will you say?' They both replied—'If the judge asks us the question without an oath, we will say yes—it will save much trouble, and we know that she did give the paper, though we did not really see her give it; but if he puts the Koran into our hands, we must say no, for we should otherwise be pointed at by all the town as perjured wretches—our enemies would soon tell everybody that we had taken a false oath.' Now," my friend went on, "the form of an oath is a great check upon this sort of persons. The third class consists of men who will tell lies whenever they have a sufficient motive, whe-

ther they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hand or not. Nothing will ever prevent their doing so; and the declaration which you propose would be just as well as any other for them."

"Which class do you consider the most numerous of the three?"

"I consider the second the most numerous, and wish the oath to be retained for them."

"That is, of all the men you see examined in our courts, you think the most come under the class of those who will, under the influence of strong motives, tell lies if they have not the Koran or Ganges water in their hands?"

"Yes."

"But do not a great many of those, whom you consider to be included among the second class, come from the village communities—the peasantry of the country?"

"Yes."

"And do you not think that the greatest part of those men who will tell lies in the court, under the influence of strong motives, unless they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hands, would refuse to tell lies, if questioned before the people of their villages, among the circle in which they live?"

"Of course I do; three-fourths of those who do not scruple to lie in the courts, would be ashamed to lie before their neighbours, or the elders of their village."

"You think that the people of the village communities are more ashamed to tell lies before their neighbours than the people of towns?"

"Much less—there is no comparison."

"And the people of towns and cities bear in India but a small proportion to the people of the village communities?"

"I should think a very small proportion indeed."

"Then you think that in the mass of the population of India *out of our courts*, and in their own circles, the first class, or those who speak truth, whether they have the Koran or Ganges water in their hands or not, would be found more numerous than the other two?"

"Certainly I do; if they were always to be questioned before their neighbours or elders, or so that they could feel that their neighbours and elders would know what they say."

This man is a very worthy and learned Mahomedan, who has read all the works on medicine to be found in Persian and Arabic; gives up his time from sunrise in the morning till nine, to the indigent sick of the town, whom he supplies gratuitously with his advice and medicines, that cost him thirty rupees a month, out of about one hundred and twenty, that he can make by his labours all the rest of the day.

There can be no doubt, that even in England the fear of the odium of society, which is sure to follow the man who has perjured himself, acts more power-

fully in making men tell the truth, when they have the Bible in their hands, before a competent and public tribunal, and with a strong worldly motive to tell a lie, than the fear of punishment by the Deity in the next world, for "having taken his name in vain" in this. Christians, as well as other people, are too apt to think that there is yet abundance of time to appease the Deity by repentance and reformation; but they know that they cannot escape the odium of society with a free press and high tone of moral and religious feeling, like those of England, if they deliberately perjure themselves in an open court, whose proceedings are watched with so much jealousy. They learn to dread the name of a "perjured villain" or "perjured wretch," which would embitter the rest of their lives, and perhaps the lives of their children.*

In a society much advanced in arts and the refinements of life, temptations to falsehood become very great, and require strong checks from law, religion, or moral feeling. Religion is seldom of itself found sufficient; for though men cannot hope to conceal their transgressions from the Deity, they can, as I have stated, always hope in time to appease him. Penal laws are not alone sufficient for men

* The new act, 5 of 1840, prescribes the following declaration: "I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that what I shall state shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth;" and declares, that a false statement made on this shall be punished as perjury.

can always hope to conceal their trespasses from those who are appointed to administer them, or at least to prevent their getting that measure of judicial proof required for their conviction; the dread of the indignation of their circle of society is everywhere the more efficient of the three checks; and this check will generally be found most to prevail where the community is left most to self-government—hence the proverb, "There is honour among thieves." A gang of robbers, who are outlaws, are of course left to govern themselves; and unless they could rely upon each other's veracity and honour, in their relations with each other, they could do nothing. If governments were to leave no degree of self-government to the communities of which the society is composed, this moral check would really cease—the law would undertake to secure every right, and enforce every duty; and men would cease to depend upon each other's good opinion, and good feelings.

There is perhaps no part of the world where the communities of which the society is composed, have been left so much to self-government as in India. There has seldom been any idea of a reciprocity of duties and rights between the governing and the governed: the sovereign who has possession feels that he has a right to levy certain taxes from the land for the maintenance of the public establishments, which he requires to keep down rebellion against his rule, and to defend his dominions against all who may wish to intrude, and seize upon them; and

to assist him in acquiring the dominions of other princes when favourable opportunities offer; but he has no idea of a reciprocal duty towards those from whom he draws his revenues. The peasantry from whom the prince draws his revenues feel that they are bound to pay that revenue; that if they do not pay it, he will, with his strong arm, turn them out and give to others their possessions—but they have no idea of any right on their part to any return from him. The village communities were everywhere left almost entirely to self-government; and the virtues of truth and honesty, in all their relations with each other, were indispensably necessary to enable them to govern themselves. A common interest often united a good many village communities in a bond of union, and established a kind of brotherhood over extensive tracts of richly-cultivated land. Self-interest required that they should unite to defend themselves against attacks with which they were threatened at every returning harvest in a country where every prince was a robber upon a scale more or less large according to his means, and took the field to rob while the lands were covered with the ripe crops upon which his troops might subsist; and where every man who practised robbery with open violence, followed what he called an "*imperial trade*," "padshahee kam"—the only trade worthy the character of a gentleman. The same interest required that they should unite in deceiving their own prince and all his officers, great and small, as to the real resources

of their estates; because they all knew, that the prince would admit of no other limits to his exactions than their abilities to pay at the harvest. Though, in their relations with each other, all these village communities spoke as much truth as those of any other communities in the world; still, in their relation with the government, they told as many lies —for falsehood in the one set of relations, would have incurred the odium of the whole of their circles of society—truth in the other, would often have involved the same penalty. If a man had told a lie to *cheat* his neighbour, he would have become an object of hatred and contempt—if he had told a lie to *save* his neighbour's fields from an increase of rent or tax, he would have become an object of esteem and respect. If the government officers were asked, whether there was any truth to be found among such communities, they would say *no, that the truth was not in them;* because they would not cut each other's throats by telling them the real value of each other's fields. If the peasantry were asked, they would say, there was plenty of truth to be found everywhere except among a few scoundrels, who, to curry favour with the government officers, betrayed their trust, and told the value of their neighbours' fields. In their ideas, he might as well have gone off and brought down the common enemy upon them in the shape of some princely robber of the neighbourhood!

Locke says, "Outlaws themselves keep faith and

rules of justice one with another—they practise them as rules of convenience within their own communities; but it is impossible to conceive, that they embrace justice as a practical principle who act fairly with their fellow highwaymen, and at the same time plunder or kill the next honest man they meet." (Vol. i. p. 37.) In India, the difference between the army of a prince and the gang of a robber was, in the general estimation of the people, only in *degree*—they were both driving an *imperial trade*, a "*padshahee kam!*" Both took the auspices, and set out on their expeditions after the Duseyrah, when the autumn crops were ripening; and both thought the Deity propitiated as soon as they found the omens favourable; one attacked palaces and capitals—the other villages and merchants' store-rooms. The members of the army of the prince thought as little of the justice or injustice of his cause as those of the gang of the robber; the people of his capital hailed the return of the victorious prince who had contributed so much to their wealth by his booty, and to their self-love by his victory. The village community received back the robber and his gang with the same feelings—by their skill and daring they had come back loaded with wealth, which they were always disposed to spend liberally with their neighbours. There was no more of truth in the prince and his army, in their relations with the princes and people of neighbouring principalities, than in the robber and his gang in their relations with the people

robbed. The prince flatters the self-love of his army and his people; the robber flatters that of his gang and his village—the question is only in degree: the persons whose self-love is flattered, are blind to the injustice and cruelty of the attack—the prince is the idol of a people, the robber the idol of a gang. Was ever robber more atrocious in his attacks upon a merchant or a village, than Louis XIV. of France, in his attacks upon the Palatine and Palatinate of the Rhine? How many thousand similar instances might be quoted of princes idolized by their people for deeds equally atrocious in their relations with other people. What nation or sovereign ever found fault with their ambassadors for telling lies to the kings, courts, and people of other countries?*

Rome, during the whole period of her history, was a mere den of execrable thieves, whose feelings were systematically brutalized by the most revolting spec-

* Hume, in speaking of Scotland in the fifteenth century, says, "Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity and justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or to give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when employed against a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to the preference above his fellows."

tacles, that they might have none of those sympathies with suffering humanity—none of those "compunctious visitings of conscience" which might be found prejudicial to the interests of the gang, and beneficial to the rest of mankind. Take, for example, the conduct of this atrocious gang under Æmilius Paulus, against Epirus and Greece generally after the defeat of Perseus, all under the deliberate decrees of the senate—take that of this gang under his son Scipio the younger, against Carthage and Numantia; under Cato, at Cyprus—all in the same manner under the *deliberate decrees of the senate!* Take indeed the whole of her history, as a republic, and we find it that of the most atrocious gang of robbers that was ever associated against the rest of their species. In her relations with the rest of mankind, Rome was collectively devoid of truth; and her citizens, who were sent to govern conquered countries, were no less devoid of truth individually—they cared nothing whatever for the feelings or the opinions of the people governed; in their dealings with them, truth and honour were entirely disregarded. The only people whose favourable opinion they had any desire to cultivate, were the members of the great gang; and the most effectual mode of conciliating them was, to plunder the people of conquered countries, and distribute the fruits among them in presents of one kind or another. Can any man read without shuddering, that it was the practice among this atrocious gang, to have all the multitude of unhappy

prisoners of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, who annually graced the triumphs of their generals, taken off and murdered just at the moment when these generals reached the Capitol amid the shouts of the multitude, that their joys might be augmented by the sight or consciousness of the sufferings of the others. See Hooke's Roman History, vol. iii. p. 488; vol. iv. p. 541. "It was the custom, that when the triumphant conqueror turned his chariot towards the Capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison and there put to death, that so the glory of the victor and the miseries of the vanquished might be in the same moment at the utmost!" How many millions of the most innocent and amiable of their species must have been offered up as human sacrifices to the triumphs of the leaders of this great gang! The women were almost as much brutalized as the men; lovers met to talk "soft nonsense" at exhibitions of gladiators. Valeria, the daughter and sister of two of the first men in Rome, was beautiful, gay, and lively, and of unblemished reputation. Having been divorced from her husband, she and the monster, Sylla, made love to each other at one of these exhibitions of gladiators, and were soon after married. Gibbon, in speaking of the lies which Severus told his two competitors in the contest for empire, says, "Falsehood and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to the dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness than when they are found in the intercourse of private

life. In the latter, they discover a want of courage; in the other, only a defect of power: and as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world under the name of *policy* seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of craft and dissimulation." But the weak in society are often obliged to defend themselves against the strong by the same weapons; and the world grants them the same liberal indulgence. Men advocate the use of the ballot in elections, that the weak may defend themselves and the free institutions of the country, by dissimulation, against the strong who would oppress them. The circumstances under which falsehood and insincerity are tolerated by the community in the best societies of modern days, are very numerous; and the worst society of modern days in the civilized world, where slavery does not prevail, is immeasurably superior to the best in ancient days, or in the middle ages. Do we not every day hear men and women, in what are called the best societies, declaring to one individual or one set of acquaintances, that the pity, the sympathy, the love, or the admiration they have been expressing for others, is, in reality, all feigned to sooth or please? As long as the motive is not base, men do not spurn the falsehood as such. How much of untruth is tolerated in the best circles of the most civilized nations, in the relations between electors to corporate and legislative bodies, and the candidates

for elections? between nominators to offices under government and the candidates for nomination? between lawyers and clients, venders and purchasers? (particularly of horses,)—between the recruiting serjeant and the young recruit, whom he has found a little angry with his poor widowed mother, whom he makes him kill by false pictures of what a soldier may hope for in the "bellaque matribus detestata" to which he invites him?

There is, I believe, no class of men in India from whom it is more difficult to get the true statement of a case pending before a court, than the sipahees of our native regiments; and yet there are, I believe, no people in the world from whom it is more easy to get it in their own village communities, where they state it before their relations, elders, and neighbours, whose esteem is necessary to their happiness, and can be obtained only by an adherence to truth. Every case that comes before a regimental court, involves, or is supposed to involve, the interest or feelings of some one or other of their companions; and the question which the deponent asks himself is not what religion, public justice, the interests of discipline and order, or the wishes of his officers require; or what would appear manly and honourable before the elders of his own little village; but what will secure the esteem, and what will excite the hatred of his comrades. This will often be downright deliberate falsehood, sworn upon the Koran or the Ganges water before

his officers. Many a brave sipahee have I seen faint away from the agitated state of his feelings, under the dread of the Deity if he told lies, with the Ganges water in his hands, and of his companions if he told the truth, and caused them to be punished. Every question becomes a party question, and "*the point of honour*" requires, that every witness shall tell as many lies about it as possible! When I go into a village, and talk with the people in any part of India, I know that I shall get the truth out of them on all subjects as long as I can satisfy them, that I am not come on the part of the government to enquire into the value of their fields with a view to new impositions—and this I can always do; but when I go among the sipahees to ask about anything, I feel pretty sure that I have little chance of getting at the truth; they will take the alarm, and try to deceive me, lest what I learn should be brought up at some future day against them or their comrades. The Duke of Wellington says, speaking of the English soldiers: "It is most difficult to convict a prisoner before a regimental court-martial, for, I am sorry to say, that soldiers have little regard to the oath administered to them; and the officers who are sworn well and truly to try and determine, *according to the evidence*, the matter before them, have too much regard to the strict *letter* of that administered to *them*." Again—"The witnesses being in almost every instance common soldiers, whose conduct this

tribunal was instituted to control, the consequence is, that purjury is almost as common an offence as drunkenness and plunder, &c."

In the ordinary civil tribunals of Europe and America, a man commonly feels, that though he is removed far from the immediate presence of those whose esteem is necessary to him, their eyes are still upon him, because the statements he may give will find their way to them through the medium of the press. This he does not feel in the civil courts of India, nor in the military courts of Europe, or of any other part of the world; and the man who judges of the veracity of a whole people from the specimens he may witness in such courts, cannot judge soundly. Sheikh Sadee, in his Goolistan, has the following tale. "I have heard that a prince commanded the execution of a captive who was brought before him; when the captive having no hope of life, told the prince, that he disgraced his throne. The prince, not understanding him, turned to one of his ministers and asked what he had said. 'He says,' replied the minister, quoting a passage from the Koran, 'God loves those who subdue their passions, forgive injuries, and do good to his creatures.' The prince pitied the poor captive, and countermanded the orders for the execution. Another minister, who owed a spite to the one who first spoke, said, 'Nothing but truth should be spoken by such persons as we in the presence of the prince; the captive spoke abusively and insolently, and you have not interpreted his

words truly.' The prince frowned, and said, 'His false interpretation pleases me more than thy true one; because his was given for a good and thine for a malignant purpose; and wise men have said, that 'a peace-making lie is better than a factious or anger-exciting truth.'" He who would too fastidiously condemn this doctrine, should think of the massacre of Thessalonica, and how much better it would have been for the great Theodosius to have had by his side the peace-making Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, than the anger-exciting Rufinus, when he heard of the offence which that city had committed.

In despotic governments, where lives, characters, and liberties, are every moment at the mercy, not only of the prince, but of all his public officers from the highest to the lowest, the occasions in which men feel authorised and actually called upon by the common feelings of humanity, to tell "peace-making lies," occur every day—nay, every hour. Every petty officer of government, "armed with his little brief authority," is a little tyrant surrounded by men whose all depends upon his will, and who dare not tell him the truth—the "point of honour" in this little circle demands, that every one should be prepared to tell him "peace-making lies;" and the man who does not do so when the occasion seems to call for it, incurs the odium of the whole circle, as one maliciously disposed to speak "anger-exciting or factious truths." Poor Cromwell and Ann Boleyn were obliged to talk of *love* and *duty* towards their

brutal murderer, Henry VIII., and tell "peace-making lies" on the scaffold to save their poor children from his resentment! European gentlemen in India often, by their violence, surround themselves with circles of the same kind, in which the "point of honour" demands, that every member shall be prepared to tell "peace-making lies," to save the others from the effects of their master's ungovernable passions—falsehood is their only safeguard; and, consequently, falsehood ceases to be odious. Countenanced in the circles of the violent, falsehood soon becomes countenanced in those of the mild and forbearing; their domestics pretend a dread of their anger which they really do not feel; and they gain credit for having the same good excuse among those who have no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the real character of the gentlemen in their domestic relations—all are *thought* to be more or less *tigerish* in these relations, particularly *before breakfast*, because some are *known* to be so.

I have known the native officers of a judge who was really a very mild and worthy man, but who lived a very secluded life, plead as their excuse for all manner of bribery and corruption, that their persons and character were never safe from his violence; and urge that men whose tenure of office was so very insecure, and who were every hour in the day exposed to so much indignity, could not possibly be blamed for making the most of their position. The society around believed all this, and blamed not the

native officers but the judge, or the government, who placed them in such a situation. Other judges and magistrates have been known to do what this person was merely reported to do, otherwise society would neither have given credit to his officers, nor have held them excused for their malpractices. Those European gentlemen who allow their passions to get the better of their reason among their domestics, do much to lower the character of their countrymen in the estimation of the people; but the high officials who forget what they owe to themselves and the native officers of their courts, when presiding on the bench of justice, do ten thousand times more; and, I grieve to say, that I have known a few officials of this class.

We have in England known many occasions, particularly in the cases of prosecutions by the officers of government for offences against the state, where little circles of society have made it a "point of honour" for some individuals to speak untruths, and and others to give verdicts against their consciences; some occasions indeed where those who ventured to speak the truth, or to give a verdict according to their conscience, were in danger from the violence of popular resentment. Have we not, unhappily, in England and among our countrymen in all parts of the world, experience every day of a wide difference between what is exacted from members of particular circles of society by the "point of honour," and what is held to be strict religious truth by the rest of

society? Do we not see gentlemen cheating their tradesmen, while they dare not leave a gambling debt unpaid? The "point of honour" in the circle to which they belong, demands that the one should be paid, because the non-payment would involve a breach of faith in their relations with each other, as in the case of the members of a gang of robbers; but the non-payment of a tradesman's bill involves only a breach of faith in a gentleman's relations with a lower order. At least, some gentlemen do not feel any apprehension of incurring the odium of the circle in which they move by cheating of this kind. In the same manner the roué, or libertine of rank, may often be guilty of all manner of falsehoods and crimes to the females of the class below him, without any fear of incurring the odium of either males or females of his own circle; on the contrary, the more crimes he commits of this sort, the more sometimes he may expect to be caressed by males and females of his own order. The man who would not hesitate a moment to destroy the happiness of a family by the seduction of the wife or the daughter, would not dare to leave one shilling of a gambling debt unpaid—the one would bring down upon him the odium of his circle, but the other would not; and the odium of that circle is the only kind of odium he dreads. Appius Claudius apprehended no odium from his own order, the patrician, from the violation of the daughter of Virginius, of the plebeian order; nor did Sextus Tarquinius, of the royal

order, apprehend any from the violation of Lucretia, of the patrician order—neither would have been punished by their own order, but they were both punished by the injured orders below them.

Our own penal code punished with death the poor man who stole a little food to save his children from starvation, while it left, to exult in the caresses of his own order, the wealthy libertine, who robbed a father and mother of their only daughter, and consigned her to a life of infamy and misery! the poor victim of man's brutal passions and base falsehood suffered inevitable and exquisite punishment, while the laws and the usages of society left the man himself untouched! He had nothing to apprehend if the father of his victim happened to be of the lower order, or a minister of the Church of Christ; because his own order would justify his refusing to meet the one in single combat, and the other dared not invite him to it; and the law left no remedy!

Take the two parties in England into which society is politically divided. There is hardly any species of falsehood uttered by the members of the party out of power against the members of the party in power, that is not tolerated and even applauded by one party; men state deliberately what they know to be utterly devoid of truth regarding the conduct of their opponents; they basely ascribe to them motives by which they know they were never actuated, merely to deceive the public, and to promote the interest of their party, without

the slightest fear of incurring odium by so doing in the minds of any but their political opponents. If a foreigner were to judge of the people of England from the tone of their newspapers, he would say, that there was assuredly neither honour, honesty, nor truth to be found among the classes which furnished the nation with its ministers and legislators; for a set of miscreants more atrocious than the Whig and Tory ministers and legislators of England were represented to be in these papers, never disgraced the society of any nation upon earth! Happily all foreigners who read these journals know that in what the members of one party say of those of the other, or are reported to say, there is often but little truth; and that there is still less of truth in what the editors and correspondents of the ultra journals of one party write about the characters, conduct, and sentiments of the members of the other.

There is one species of untruth to which we English people are particularly prone in India, and I am assured everywhere else. It is this. Young "miss in her teens," as soon as she finds her female attendants in the wrong, no matter in what way, exclaims, "it is so like the natives;" and the idea of the same error, vice, or crime, becomes so habitually associated in her mind with every native she afterwards sees, that she can no more separate them than she can the idea of ghosts and hobgoblins from darkness and solitude. The young cadet or civilian, as soon as he finds his valet, butler, or his groom in the wrong,

exclaims, "It is so like blacky—so like the niggars; they are all alike, and what could you expect from him!" He has been constantly accustomed to the same vicious association of ideas in his native land—if he has been brought up in a family of Tories, he has constantly heard those he most reverenced exclaim, when they have found, or fancied they found, a Whig in the wrong, "It is so like the Whigs—they are all alike; there is no trusting any of them." If a Protestant, "It is so like the Catholics; there is no trusting them in any relation of life." The members of Whig and Catholic families may say the same perhaps of Tories and Protestants. An untravelled Englishman will sometimes say the same of a Frenchman; and the idea of everything that is bad in man will be associated in his mind with the image of a Frenchman. If he hears of an act of dishonour by a person of that nation, "It is so like a Frenchman—they are all alike; there is no honour in them." A Tory goes to America, predisposed to find in all who live under republican governments, every species of vice and crime; and no sooner sees a man or woman misbehave, than he exclaims, "It is so like the Americans—they are all alike; but what could you expect from republicans!" At home, when he considers himself in relation to the members of the parties opposed to him in religion or politics, they are associated in his mind with everything that is vicious; abroad, when he considers the people of other countries in relation to his own, if they happen to be

Christians, he will find them associated in his mind with everything that is good, or everything that is bad, in proportion as their institutions happen to conform to those which his party advocates. A Tory will abuse America and Americans, and praise the Austrians. A Whig will, *perhaps*, abuse the Austrians and others who live under paternal or despotic governments; and praise the Americans, who live under institutions still more free than his own.

This has properly been considered by Locke as a species of madness to which all mankind are more or less subject, and from which hardly any individual can entirely free himself. "There is," he says, scarce a man so free from it, but that if he should always, on all occasions, argue or do as in some cases he constantly does, would not be thought fitter for Bedlam than civil conversation. I do not here mean when he is under the power of an unruly passion, but in the steady, calm course of his life. That which thus captivates their reason, and leads men of sincerity blindfold from common sense, will, when examined, be found to be what we are speaking of; some independent ideas, of no alliance to one another are, by education, custom, and the constant din of their party, so coupled in their minds, that they always appear there together, and they can no more separate them in their thoughts, than if they were but one idea, and they operate as if they really were so." (Book ii. chap. 33.)

Perjury had long since ceased to be considered disgraceful, or even discreditable, among the patrician order in Rome, before the soldiers ventured to break their oaths of allegiance. Military service had, from the ignorance and selfishness of this order, been rendered extremely odious to free-born Romans; and they frequently mutinied and murdered their generals, though they would not desert because they had sworn not to do so. To break his oath by deserting the standards of Rome, was to incur the hatred and contempt of the great mass of the people—the soldier dared not hazard this. But patricians of senatorial and consular rank, did not hesitate to violate their oaths whenever it promised any advantage to the patrician order collectively or individually, because it excited neither contempt nor indignation in that order. "They have been false to their generals," said Fabius, "but they have never deceived the gods. I know they *can* conquer, and they shall swear to do so,"—they swore and conquered.

Instead of adopting measures to make the duties of a soldier less odious, the patricians turned their hatred of these duties to account, and at a high price sold an absolution from their oath. While the members of the patrician order bought and sold oaths among themselves merely to deceive the lower orders, they were still respected among the plebeians; but when they began to sell dispensations to the members of this lower order, the latter also by degrees ceased to feel any veneration for the oath, and it

was no longer deemed disgraceful to desert duties which the higher order made no effort to render less odious.

"That they who draw the breath of life in a court, and pass all their days in an atmosphere of lies, should have any very sacred regard for truth, is hardly to be expected. They experience such falsehood in all who surround them, that deception, at least suppression of the truth, almost seems necessary for self-defence; and accordingly, if their speech be not framed upon the theory of the French cardinal, that language was given to man for the better concealment of his thoughts, they at least seem to regard in what they say, not its resemblance to the fact in question, but rather its subserviency to the purpose in view." (Brougham's Geo. 4th.) "Yet, let it never be forgotten, that princes are nurtured in falsehood by the atmosphere of lies which envelopes their palace; steeled against natural sympathies by the selfish natures of all that surround them; hardened in cruelty, partly indeed by the fears incident to their position, but partly too by the unfeeling creatures, the factious, the unnatural productions of a court whom alone they deal with; trained for tyrants by the prostration which they find in all the minds which they come in contact with; encouraged to domineer by the unresisting medium through which all their steps to power and its abuse are made." (Brougham's Carnot.)

But Lord Brougham is too harsh. Johnson has observed truly enough, "Honesty is not necessarily greater where elegance is less;" nor does a sense of supreme or despotic power necessarily imply the exercise or abuse of it. Princes have, happily, the same yearning as the peasant after the respect and affection of the circle around them, and the people under them; and they must generally seek it by the same means.

I have mentioned the village communities of India as that class of the population among whom truth prevails most; but I believe there is no class of men in the world more strictly honourable in their dealings than the mercantile classes of India. Under native governments, a merchant's books were appealed to as "holy writ," and the confidence in them has certainly not diminished under our rule. There have been instances of their being seized by the magistrate, and subjected to the inspection of the officers of his court. No officer of a native government ventured to seize them; the merchant was required to produce them as proof of particular entries; and while the officers of government did no more, there was no danger of false accounts. An instance of deliberate fraud or falsehood among native merchants of respectable stations in society, is extremely rare. Among the many hundreds of bills I have had to take from them for private remittances, I have never had one dishonoured, or the payment upon one de-

layed beyond the day specified; nor do I recollect ever hearing of one who had. They are so careful not to speculate beyond their means, that an instance of failure is extremely rare among them. No one ever in India hears of families reduced to ruin or distress by the failure of merchants and bankers; though here, as in all other countries advanced in the arts, a vast number of families subsist upon the interest of money employed by them.

There is no class of men more interested in the stability of our rule in India than this of the respectable merchants; nor is there any upon whom the welfare of our government, and that of the people, more depend. Frugal, first, upon principle, that they may not in their expenditure encroach upon their capitals, they become so by habit; and when they advance in life they lay out their accumulated wealth in the formation of those works which shall secure for them, from generation to generation, the blessings of the people of the towns in which they have resided, and those of the country around. It would not be too much to say, that one-half of the great works which embellish and enrich the face of India, in tanks, groves, wells, temples, &c., have been formed by this class of the people solely with the view of securing the blessings of mankind by contributing to their happiness in solid and permanent works. "The man who has left behind him great works in temples, bridges, reservoirs, and caravansaries for the public

good, does not die," says Sheikh Sadee, the greatest of eastern poets, whose works are more read and loved than those of any other uninspired man that has ever written, not excepting our own beloved Shakspeare.* He is as much loved and admired by Hindoos as by Mahomedans; and from boyhood to old age he continues the idol of the imaginations of both. The boy of ten, and the old man of seventy, alike delight to read and quote him for the music of his verses, and the beauty of his sentiments, precepts, and imagery.

It was to the class last mentioned, whose incomes are derived from the profits of stock invested in manufactures and commerce, that Europe chiefly owed its rise and progress after the downfall of the Roman empire, and the long night of darkness and desolation which followed it. It was through the means of mercantile industry, and the municipal institutions to which it gave rise, that the enlightened sovereigns of Europe were enabled to curb the licence of the feudal aristocracy, and to give to life, property, and character, that security without which society could not possibly advance; and it was through the same means that the people were afterwards enabled to put those limits to the authority of the sovereign, and to secure to themselves that share in the government without which society could not possibly be

* I ought to except Confucius, the great Chinese moralist.

free, or well constituted. Upon the same foundation may we hope to raise a superstructure of municipal corporations and institutions in India, such as will give security and dignity to the society; and the sooner we begin upon the work the better.

CHAPTER X.

DECLINING FERTILITY OF THE SOIL—POPULAR NOTION OF THE CAUSE.

On the 13th we came on ten miles to Sahur, over a plain of poor soil, carelessly cultivated, and without either manure or irrigation. Major Godby left us at Goverdhun to return to Agra. He would have gone on with us to Delhi; but having the command of his regiment, and being a zealous officer, he did not like to leave it so long during the exercising season. We felt much the loss of his society. He is a man of great observation and practical good sense: has an infinite fund of good-humour, and a cheerfulness of temperament that never seems to flag—a more agreeable companion I have never met. The villages in these parts are literally crowded with peafowl. I counted no less than forty-six feeding close by among the houses of one hamlet on the road, all wild, or rather *unappropriated*, for they seemed on

the best possible terms with the inhabitants. At Sahur our water was drawn from wells eighty feet deep; and this is said to be the ordinary depth from which water is drawn; consequently irrigation is too expensive to be common. It is confined almost exclusively to small patches of garden cultivation in the vicinity of villages.

On the 14th we came on sixteen miles to Kosee, for the most part over a poor soil badly cultivated, and almost exclusively devoted to autumn crops, of which cotton is the principal. I lost the road in the morning before daylight, and the trooper, who usually rode with me, had not come up. I got an old landholder from one of the villages to walk on with me a mile, and put me in the right road. I asked him what had been the state of the country under the former government of the Jâts and Mahrattas; and was told that the greater part was a wild jungle. "I remember," said the old man, "when you could not have got out of the road hereabouts without a good deal of risk. I could not have ventured a hundred yards from the village without the chance of having my clothes stripped off my back. Now the whole face of the country is under cultivation, and the roads are safe; formerly the governments kept no faith with their landholders and cultivators, exacting ten rupees where they had bargained for five, whenever they found the crops good; but in spite of all this *zolm*," (oppression,) said the old man, "there was then more *burkut* (blessings

from above) than now. The lands yielded more returns to the cultivator, and he could maintain his little family better upon five acres than he can now upon ten."

"To what, my old friend, do you attribute this very unfavourable change in the productive powers of your soil?"

"A man cannot, sir, venture to tell the truth at all times, and in all places," said he.

"You may tell it now with safety, my good old friend. I am a mere traveller, (Mosafir,) going to the hills in search of health, from the valley of the Nerbudda, where the people have been suffering a good deal from blight, and are much perplexed in their endeavour to find a cause."

"Here, sir, we all attribute these evils to the dreadful system of *perjury*, which the practices of your judicial courts have brought among the people. You are perpetually putting the Ganges water into the hands of the Hindoos, and the Koran into those of the Mahomedans; and all kinds of lies are every day told upon them. God Almighty can stand this no longer; and the lands have ceased to be blessed with that fertility which they had before this sad practice began. This, sir, is almost the only fault we have any of us to find with your government; men, by this system of perjury, are able to cheat each other out of their rights, and bring down sterility upon the land, by which the innocent are made to suffer for the guilty."

On reaching our tents, I asked a respectable farmer, who came to pay his respects to the commissioner of the division, Mr. Fraser, what he thought of the matter, telling him what I had heard from my old friend on the road. "The diminished fertility is," said he, "owing no doubt to the want of those salutary fallows which the fields got under former governments, when invasions and civil wars were things of common occurrence, and kept at least two-thirds of the land waste; but there is, on the other hand, no doubt that you have encouraged perjury a good deal in your courts of justice; and this perjury must have some effect in depriving the land of the blessings of God! Every man now, who has a cause in your civil courts, seems to think it necessary either to swear falsely himself, or to get others to do it for him. The European gentlemen, no doubt, do all they can to secure every man his right, but, surrounded as they are by perjured witnesses, and corrupt native officers, they commonly labour in the dark." Much of truth is to be found among the village communities of India, where they have been carefully maintained, if people will go among them to seek it. Here, as almost everywhere else, truth is the result of self-government, whether arising from choice, under municipal institutions, or necessity, under despotism and anarchy: self-government produces self-esteem and pride of character.

Close to our tents we found the people at work, irrigating their wheat-fields from several wells, whose

waters were all brackish. The crops watered from these wells were admirable—likely to yield at least fifteen returns of the seed. Wherever we go we find signs of a great government passed away—signs that must tend to keep alive the recollections, and exalt the ideas of it in the minds of the people. Beyond the boundary of our military and civil stations we find as yet few indications of our reign or our character, to link us with the affections of the people. There is hardly anything to indicate our existence as a people or a government in this country; and it is melancholy to think, that in the wide extent of country over which I have travelled, there should be found so few signs of that superiority in science and in arts which we boast of, and really do possess, and ought to make conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people in every part of our dominions. The people and the face of the country are just what they might have been had they been governed by police officers and tax-gatherers from the Sandwich Islands, capable of securing life, property, and character, and levying honestly the means of maintaining the establishments requisite for the purpose. Some time after the journey herein described, in the early part of November, after a heavy fall of rain, I was driving alone in my buggy from Gurmuktesur on the Ganges, to Meerut. The roads were very bad, the stage a double one, and my horse became tired, and unable to go on. I got out at a small village to give him a little rest and food; and sat

down under the shade of one old tree upon the trunk of another, that the storm had blown down, while my groom, the only servant I had with me, rubbed down and baited my horse. I called for some parched gram from the same shop which supplied my horse, and got a draught of good water, drawn from the well by an old woman, in a brass jug lent to me for the purpose by the shopkeeper.

While I sat contentedly and happily stripping my parched gram of its shell, and eating it grain by grain, the farmer, or head landholder of the village, a sturdy old Rajpoot, came up and sat himself, without any ceremony, down by my side, to have a little conversation. To one of the dignitaries of the land, in whose presence the aristocracy are alone considered entitled to chairs, this easy familiarity on the part of a poor farmer seems at first somewhat strange and unaccountable; he is afraid that the man intends to offer him some indignity, or what is still worse, mistakes him for something less than the dignitary! The following dialogue took place.

"You are a Rajpoot, and a Zemindar?" (landholder.)

"Yes; I am the head landholder of this village."

"Can you tell me how that village in the distance is elevated above the ground; is it from the debris of old villages, or from a rock underneath?"

"It is from the debris of old villages. That is the original seat of all the Rajpoots around; we all trace our descent from the founders of that village who built and peopled it many centuries ago."

"And you have gone on subdividing your inheritances here as elsewhere, no doubt, till you have hardly any of you anything to eat?"

"True, we have hardly any of us enough to eat; but that is the fault of the government, that does not leave us enough—that takes from us as much when the season is bad as when it is good!"

"But your assessment has not been increased, has it?"

"No; we have concluded a settlement for twenty years upon the same footing as formerly."

"And if the sky were to shower down upon you pearls and diamonds, instead of water, the government would never demand more from you than the rate fixed upon?"

"No."

"Then why should you expect remissions in bad seasons?"

"It cannot be disputed that the *burkut* (blessing from above) is less under you than it used to be formerly, and that the lands yield less to our labour."

"True, my old friend, but do you know the reason why?"

"No."

"Then I will tell you. Forty or fifty years ago, in what you call the times of the *burkut*, (blessing from above,) the cavalry of Seikh, freebooters from the Punjab, used to sweep over this fine plain, in which stands the said village from which you are all

descended; and to massacre the whole population of some villages, and a certain portion of that of every other village; and the lands of those killed used to lie waste for want of cultivators. Is not this all true?"

"Yes, quite true."

"And the fine groves which had been planted over this plain by your ancestors, as they separated from the great parent stock, and formed independent villages and hamlets for themselves, were all swept away and destroyed by the same hordes of freebooters, from whom your poor imbecile emperors, cooped up in yonder large city of Delhi, were utterly unable to defend you?"

"Quite true," said the old man with a sigh. "I remember when all this fine plain was as thickly studded with fine groves of mango-trees as Rohilcund, or any other part of India."

"You know that the land requires rest from labour, as well as men and bullocks; and that if you go on sowing wheat, and other exhausting crops, it will go on yielding less and less returns, and at last not be worth the tilling?"

"Quite well."

"Then why do you not give the land rest by leaving it longer fallow, or by a more frequent alternation of crops relieve it?"

"Because we have now increased so much, that we should not get enough to eat were we to leave it to

fallow; and unless we tilled it with exhausting crops we should not get the means of paying our rents to government."

"The Seikh hordes in former days prevented this; they killed off a certain portion of your families, and gave the land the *rest* which you now refuse it. When you had exhausted one part, you found another recovered by a long fallow, so that you had better returns; but now that we neither kill you, nor suffer you to be killed by others, you have brought all the cultivable lands into tillage; and under the old system of cropping to exhaustion, it is not surprising that they yield you less returns."

By this time we had a crowd of people seated around us upon the ground, as I went on munching my parched gram, and talking to the old patriarch. They all laughed at the old man at the conclusion of my last speech; and he confessed I was right.

"This is all true, sir, but still your government is not considerate; it goes on taking kingdom after kingdom, and adding to its dominions without diminishing the burthen upon us, its old subjects. Here you have had armies away taking Affghanistan, but we shall not have one rupee the less to pay!"

"True, my friend, nor would you demand a rupee less from those honest cultivators around us, if we were to leave you all your lands untaxed. You complain of the government—they complain of

you." (Here the circle around us laughed at the old man again.) "Nor would you subdivide the lands the less for having it rent free; on the contrary, it would be every generation subdivided the more, inasmuch as there would be more of local ties, and a greater disinclination on the part of the members of families to separate, and seek service abroad."

"True, sir, very true—that is, no doubt, a very great evil."

"And you know it is not an evil produced by us, but one arising out of your own laws of inheritance. You have heard, no doubt, that with us the eldest son gets the whole of the land, and the younger sons all go out in search of service, with such share as they can get of the other property of their father?"

"Yes, sir; but where shall we get service—you have none to give us. I would serve to-morrow if you would take me as a soldier," said he, stroking his white whiskers.

The crowd laughed heartily; and some wag observed, "that I should perhaps think him too old!"

"Well," said the old man smiling, "the gentleman is not himself very young, and yet I dare say he is a good servant of his government."

This was paying me off for making the people laugh at his expense. "True, my old friend," said I; "but I began to serve when I was young, and have been long learning."

"Very well," said the old man; "but I should be glad to serve the rest of my life upon a less salary than you got when you began to learn."

"Well, my friend, you complain of our government; but you must acknowledge that we do all we can to protect you, though it is true that we are often acting in the dark?"

"Often, sir! you are always acting in the dark; you hardly any of you know anything of what your revenue and police officers are doing; there is no justice or redress to be got without paying for it; and it is not often that those who pay can get it."

"True, my old friend, that is bad all over the world. You cannot presume to ask anything even from the Deity himself, without paying the priest who officiates in his temples; and if you should, you would none of you hope to get from your Deity what you asked for!"

Here the crowd laughed again; and one of them said, "that there was certainly this to be said for our government, that the European gentlemen themselves never took bribes, whatever those under them might do."

"You must not be too sure of that neither. Did not the Lal Beebee, the red lady, get a bribe for soliciting the judge, her husband, to let go Ameer Sing, who had been confined in jail?"

"How did this take place?"

"About three years ago, Ameer Sing was sentenced to imprisonment, and his friends spent a great deal of money in bribes to the native officers of the

court, but all in vain. At last they were recommended to give a handsome present to the red lady. They did so, and Ameer Sing was released."

"But did they give the present in the lady's own hand?"

"No, they gave it to one of her women."

"And how do you know that she ever gave it to her mistress, or that her mistress ever heard of the transaction?"

"She might certainly have been acting without her mistress's knowledge; but the popular belief is, that the *Lal Beebee* got the present."

I then told the story of the affair at Jubbulpore, when Mrs. Smith's name had been used for a similar purpose, and the people around us were all highly amused; and the old man's opinion of the transaction with the red lady evidently underwent a change.* We became good friends, and the old man begged me to have my tents, which he supposed were coming up, pitched among them, that he might have an op-

* Some of Mr. Smith's servants entered into a combination to defraud a suitor in his court of a large sum of money, which he was to pay to Mrs. Smith as she walked in the garden. A dancing girl from the town of Jubbulpore was made to represent Mrs. Smith, and a suit of Mrs. Smith's clothes was borrowed for her from the washerman. The butler took the suitor to the garden, and introduced him to the supposed Mrs. Smith, who received him very graciously, and condescended to accept his offer of five thousand rupees in gold mohurs. The plot was afterwards discovered, and the old butler, washerman and all, were sentenced to labour in a rope on the roads.

portunity of showing that he was not a bad subject, though he grumbled against the government.

The next day, at Meerut, I got a visit from the chief native judge, whose son, a talented youth, is in my office. Among other things, I asked him whether it might not be possible to improve the character of the police by increasing the salaries of the officers, and mentioned my conversation with the landholder.

"Never, sir," said the old gentleman; "the man that now gets twenty-five rupees a month is contented with making perhaps fifty or seventy-five more; and the people subject to his authority pay him accordingly. Give him a hundred, sir, and he will put a shawl over his shoulders, and the poor people will be obliged to pay him at a rate that will make up his income to four hundred. You will only alter his style of living, and make him a greater burthen to the people—he will always take as long as he thinks he can with impunity."

"But do you not think that when people see a man adequately paid by the government, they will the more readily complain of any attempt at unauthorised exactions?"

"Not a bit, sir, as long as they see the same difficulties in the way of prosecuting him to conviction. In the administration of civil justice (the old gentleman is a civil judge) you may occasionally see your way, and understand what is doing; but in revenue and police you never have seen it in India, and never

will, I think. The officers you employ will all add to their incomes by unauthorised means; and the lower these incomes the less their pretensions, and the less the populace have to pay."

CHAPTER XI.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL, AND ITS EFFECTS.

KOSEE stands on the borders of Ferozepore, the estate of the late Shumshoodeen, who was hanged at Delhi on the 3rd of October, 1835, for the murder of William Fraser, the representative of the Governor-general in the Delhi city and territories. The Mewaties, of Ferozepore, are notorious thieves and robbers. During the Nawab's time they dared not plunder within his territory, but had a free licence to plunder wherever they pleased beyond it. They will now be able to plunder at home, since our tribunals have been introduced, to worry prosecutors and their witnesses to death by the distance they have to go, and the tediousness of our process; and thereby to secure impunity to offenders, by making it the interest of those who have been robbed, not only to bear with the first loss without complaint, but largely to bribe police officers to conceal the crimes from their master, the magistrate, when they

happen to come to their knowledge! Here it was that Jeswunt Rao Holcar gave a grand ball on the 14th of October, 1804, while he was with his cavalry covering the siege of Delhi by his regular brigade. In the midst of the festivity he had an European soldier of the king's seventy-sixth regiment, who had been taken prisoner, strangled behind the curtain, and his head stuck upon a spear and placed in the midst of the assembly, where the Natch girls were made to dance round it! Lord Lake reached the place the next morning in pursuit of this monster; and the gallant regiment, who here heard the story, had soon an opportunity of revenging the foul murder of their comrade in the battle of Deeg, one of the most gallant passages of arms we have ever had in India.

Near Kosee there is a factory in ruins belonging to the late firm of Mercer and Company. Here the cotton of the district used to be collected and screwed under the superintendence of European agents, preparatory to its embarkation for Calcutta on the river Jumna. On the failure of the firm, the establishment was broken up, and the work, which was then done by one great European merchant, is now done by a score or two of native merchants. There is, perhaps, nothing which India wants more than the concentration of capital; and the failure of all the great commercial houses in Calcutta, in the year 1833, was, unquestionably, a great calamity. They none of them brought a particle of capital into the

country, nor does India want a particle from any country; but they *concentrated* it; and had they employed the whole, as they certainly did a good deal of it, in judiciously improving and extending the industry of the natives, they might have been the source of incalculable good to India, its people, and its government.

To this concentration of capital in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, which forms the grand characteristic of European in contradistinction to Asiatic societies in the present day, must we look for those changes which we consider desirable in the social and religious institutions of the people. Where land is liable to eternal subdivision by the law and the religion of both the Mahomedan and Hindoo population; where every great work, that improves its productive powers, and facilitates the distribution of its produce among the people, in canals, roads, bridges, &c., is made by government; where capital is nowhere concentrated in great commercial or manufacturing establishments,—there can be no upper classes in society but those of office; and of all societies, perhaps that is the worst in which the higher classes are so exclusively composed. In India, public office has been, and must continue to be, the only road to distinction, until we have *a law of primogeniture*, and *a concentration of capital*. In India no man has ever thought himself respectable, or been thought so by others, unless he is armed with his little *Hookoomut;* his "little brief authority" under

government, that gives him the command of some public establishment paid out of the revenues of the state. In Europe and America, where capital has been concentrated in great commercial and manufacturing establishments, and free institutions prevail almost as the natural consequences, *industry* is everything; and those who direct and command it are, happily, looked up to as the source of the wealth, the strength, the virtue, and the happiness of the nation. The concentration of capital in such establishments may, indeed, be considered, not only as the natural consequence, but as the pervading cause of the free institutions by which the mass of the people in European countries are blessed. The mass of the people were as much brutalized and oppressed by the landed aristocracy, as they could have been by any official aristocracy, before towns and higher classes were created by the concentration of capital.

The same observations are applicable to China. There the land all belongs to the sovereign, as in India; and, as in India, it is liable to the same eternal subdivision among the sons of those who hold it under him. Capital is nowhere more concentrated in China than in India; and all the great works that add to the fertility of the soil, and facilitate the distribution of the land labour of the country, are formed by the sovereign out of the public revenue. The revenue is, in consequence, one of office; and no man considers himself less respectable, unless invested with some office under government—that is,

under the Emperor. Subdivision of labour, concentration of capital, and machinery, render an Englishman everywhere dependent upon the co-operation of multitudes; while the Chinaman, who as yet knows little of either, is everywhere independent, and able to work his way among strangers. But this very dependence of the Englishman upon the concentration of capital is the greatest source of his strength and pledge of his security, since it supports those members of the higher orders who can best understand and assert the rights and interests of the whole.

If we had any great establishments of this sort in which Christians could find employment, and the means of religious and secular instruction, thousands of converts would soon flock to them; and they would become vast sources of future improvement in industry, social comfort, municipal institutions, and religion. What chiefly prevents the spread of Christianity in India is the dread of exclusion from caste and all its privileges; and the utter hopelessness of their ever finding any respectable circle of society of the adopted religion, which converts, or would be converts to Christianity, now everywhere feel. Form such circles for them—make the members of these circles happy in the exertion of honest and independent industry—let those who rise to eminence in them feel, that they are considered as respectable and as important in the social system as the servants of government, and converts will flock

around you from all parts, and from all classes of the Hindoo community. I have, since I have been in India, had, I may say, at least a score of Hindoo grass-cutters turn Mussulmans, merely because the grooms and the other grass-cutters of my establishment happened to be of that religion, and they could neither eat, drink, nor smoke with them! Thousands of Hindoos, all over India, become every year Mussulmans from the same motive; and we do not get the same number of converts to Christianity, merely because we cannot offer them the same advantages. I am persuaded that a dozen such establishments as that of Mr. Thomas Ashton, of Hyde, as described by a physician of Manchester, and noticed in Mr. Baines's admirable work on the Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain, (page 447,) would do more in the way of conversion among the people of India than has ever yet been done by all the religious establishments, or ever will be done by them, without some such aid.

I have said that the great commercial houses of Calcutta, which in their ruin involved that of so many useful establishments scattered over India, like that of Kosee, brought no capital into the country. They borrowed from one part of the civil and military servants of government at a high interest, that portion of their salary which they saved; and lent it at a higher interest to others of the same establishment, who for a time required, or wished to spend, more than they received; or they employed it at a

higher rate of profit for great commercial and manufacturing establishments scattered over India, or spread over the ocean. Their great error was in mistaking nominal for real profits. Calculating their dividend on their nominal profits, and never supposing that there could be any such things as losses in commercial speculation, or bad debts from misfortunes and bad faith, they squandered them in lavish hospitality and ostentatious display, or allowed their retiring members to take them to England, and to every other part of the world, where their creditors might not find them; till they discovered that all the real capital left at their command was hardly sufficient to pay back with the stipulated interest one-tenth of what they had borrowed. The members of those houses who remained in India up to the time of the general wreck were of course reduced to ruin, and obliged to bear the burthen of the odium and indignation which the ruin of so many thousands of confiding constituents brought down upon them. Since that time, the savings of civil and military servants have been invested either in government securities, at a small interest, or in banks, which make their profit in the ordinary way, by discounting bills of exchange, and circulating their own notes for the purpose, or by lending out their money at a high interest of ten or twelve per cent. to other members of the same services.

On the 16th of January we went on to Horul, ten miles, over a plain, with villages numerous and

large; and in every one some fine large building of olden times. Surae, palace, temple, or tomb, but all going to decay. The population, much more dense than in any of the native states I have seen; villages larger, and more numerous; trade, in the transit of cotton, salt, sugar, and grain, much brisker. A great number of hares were here brought to us for sale, at threepence a piece; a rate at which they sell at this season in almost all parts of upper India, where they are very numerous, and very easily caught in nets.

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSIT DUTIES IN INDIA—MODE OF COLLECTING THEM.

At Horul resides a collector of Customs, with two or three uncovenanted European assistants, as patrol officers. The rule now is to tax only the staple articles of produce from the west on their transit, down into the valley of the Jumna and Ganges; and to have only one line on which these articles shall be liable to duties. They are free to pass everywhere else without search or molestation. This has, no doubt, relieved the people of these provinces from an infinite deal of loss and annoyance inflicted upon them by the former system of levying the Custom duties; and that without much diminishing the net receipts of government from this branch of its revenues. But the time may come when government will be constrained to raise a greater portion of its collective revenues than it has hitherto done from indirect taxation; and when this time comes, the rule which confines the impost to a single line, must

of course be abandoned. Under the former system, one great man, with a very high salary, was put in to preside over a host of native agents with very small salaries; and without any responsible intermediate agent whatever to aid him, and to watch over them. The great man was selected without any reference to his knowledge of, or fitness for, the duties entrusted to him, merely because he happened to be of a certain standing in a certain exclusive service, which entitled him to a certain scale of salary; or because he had been found unfit for judicial or other duties requiring more intellect and energy of character. The consequence was, that for every one rupee that went into the public treasury, ten were taken by these harpies, from the merchants or other people over whom they had, or could pretend to have, a right of search.

Some irresponsible native officer, who happened to have the confidence of the great man, (no matter in what capacity he served him,) sold for his own profit, and for that of those whose good will he might think it worth while to conciliate, the offices of all the subordinate agents immediately employed in the collection of the duties. A man who was to receive an avowed salary of seven rupees a month, would give him three or four thousand for his post; because it would give him charge of a detached post, in which he could soon repay himself with a handsome profit. A poor Peon, who was to serve under others, and could never hope for an independent

charge, would give five hundred rupees for an office which yielded him avowedly only four rupees a month. All arrogated the right of search; and the state of Indian society, and the climate, were admirably suited to their purpose. A person of any respectability would feel himself dishonoured, were the females of his family to be *seen*, much less *touched*, while passing along the road in their palanquin or covered carriage; and to save himself from such a dishonour, he was everywhere obliged to pay these Custom-house officers. Many articles that pass in transit through India, would suffer much damage from being opened along the road at any season, and be liable to be spoiled altogether during that of the rains; and these harpies could always make the merchants open them, unless they paid liberally for their forbearance. Articles were rated to the duty according to their value; and articles of the same weight were often, of course, of very different values. These officers could always pretend that packages, liable to injury from exposures, contained within them, among the articles set forth in the invoice, others of greater value, in proportion to their weight. Men who carried pearls, jewels, and other articles very valuable, compared with their bulk, always depended for their security from robbers and thieves on their concealment; and there was nothing which they dreaded so much as the insolence and rapacity of these Custom House officers, who made them pay large bribes, or exposed their goods.

Gangs of thieves had members in disguise at such stations, who were soon able to discover, through the insolence of the officers, and the fears and entreaties of the merchants, whether they had anything worth taking or not. A party of thieves from Duteea, in 1832, followed Lord William Bentinck's camp to the bank of the river Jumna, near Mutra, where they found a poor merchant humbly entreating an insolent Custom-house officer not to insist upon his showing the contents of the little box he carried in his carriage, lest it might attract the attention of thieves, who were always to be found among the followers of such a camp, and offering to give him anything reasonable for his forbearance. Nothing he could be got to offer would satisfy the rapacity of the man; the box was taken out and opened. It contained jewels, which the poor man hoped to sell to advantage among the European ladies and gentlemen of the Governor-general's suite. He replaced his box in his carriage; but in half an hour it was travelling post-haste to Duteea, by relays of thieves which had been posted along the road for such occasions. They quarrelled about the division; swords were drawn, and wounds inflicted. One of the gang ran off to the magistrate at Saugor, with whom he had before been acquainted; and he sent him back with a small party, and a letter to the Duteea Rajah, requesting that he would get the box of jewels for the poor merchant. The party took the precaution of searching the house of the thieves before they

delivered the letter to their friend the minister, and by this means recovered above half the jewels, which amounted in all to about seven thousand rupees. The merchant was agreeably surprised when he got back so much of his property through the magistrate of Mutra, and confirmed the statement of the thief regarding the dispute with the Custom-house officer, which enabled them to discover the value of the box.

Should government by-and-by extend the system that obtains in this single line, to the Customs all over India, they may greatly augment their revenue without any injury, and with but little necessary loss and inconvenience to merchants. The object of all just taxation is, to make the subjects contribute to the public burthen, in proportion to their means, and with as little loss and inconvenience to themselves as possible. The people who reside west of this line, enjoy all their salt, their cotton, and other articles which are taxed on crossing the line, without the payment of any duties; while those to the east of it are obliged to pay. It is, therefore, not a just line. The advantages are—1st, that it interposes a body of most efficient officers between the mass of harpies and the heads of the department, who now virtually superintend the whole system, whereas, they used formerly to do so merely ostensibly. They are at once the tapis of Prince Hosain, and the telescope of Prince Ali: they enable the heads of departments to be everywhere, and see

everything, whereas before they were nowhere and saw nothing.* Secondly, it makes the great staple articles of general consumption alone liable to the payment of duties; and thereby does away, in a great measure, with the odious right of search.

At Kosee our friend, Charles Fraser, left us to proceed through Mutra to Agra; he is a very worthy man, and excellent public officer—one of those whom one always meets again with pleasure, and of whose society one never tires. Mr. Wilmot, the collector of Customs, and Mr. Wright, one of the patrol officers, came to dine with us. The wind blew so hard all day, that the cook and khansamah (butler) were long in despair of being able to give us any dinner at all. At last we managed to get a tent, closed at every crevice to keep out the dust, for a cook-room; and they were thus able to preserve their master's credit, which, no doubt, according to their notions, depended altogether on the quality of his dinner.

* The same observations, *mutatis mutandis*, are applicable to the magistracy of the country; and the remedy for all the great existing evils must be sought in the same means, the interposition of a body of efficient officers between the magistrate and the Thanadars, or present head police officers of small divisions.

CHAPTER XIII.

PEASANTRY OF INDIA ATTACHED TO NO EXISTING GOVERNMENT—WANT OF TREES IN UPPER INDIA—CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE—WELLS AND GROVES.

WHAT strikes one most after crossing the Chumbul is, I think, the improved size and bearing of the men; they are much stouter, and more bold and manly, without being at all less respectful. They are certainly a noble peasantry, full of courage, spirit, and intelligence; and heartily do I wish that we could adopt any system that would give our government a deep root in their affections, or link their interest inseparably with its prosperity; for with all its defects, life, property, and character are certainly more secure, and all their advantages more freely enjoyed under our government than under any other they have ever heard of, or that exists at present in any other part of the country. The external subdivision of the landed property reduces them too much to one common level; and prevents the for-

mation of that middle class which is the basis of all that is great and good in European societies—the great vivifying spirit which animates all that is good above it in the community. It is a singular fact, that the peasantry, and, I may say, the landed interest of the country generally, have never been the friends of any existing government—have never considered their interests and that of their government the same; and, consequently, have never felt any desire for its success or its duration.

The towns and villages all stand upon high mounds formed of the debris of former towns and villages, that have been accumulating most of them for thousand of years. They are for the most part mere collections of wretched hovels built of frail materials, and destined only for a brief period.

> "Man wants but little here below,
> Nor wants that little long;"

And certainly there is no climate in the world where man wants less than in this of India generally, and upper India particularly. A peasant lives in the open air; and a house to him is merely a thing to eat and sleep in, and to give him shelter in the storm, which comes upon him but seldom, and never in a *pitiless shape*. The society of his friends he enjoys in the open air; and he never furnishes his house for their reception or for display. The peasantry of India, in consequence of living and talking so much in the open air, have all *stentorian* voices, which

they find it exceedingly difficult to modulate to our taste when they come into our rooms.

Another thing in this part of India strikes a traveller from other parts,—the want of groves of fruit trees around the villages, and along the roads. In every other part of India he can at every stage have his tents pitched in a grove of mango trees, that defend his followers from the direct rays of the sun in the daytime, and from the cold dews at night; but in the district above Agra, he may go for ten marches without getting the shelter of a grove in one. The Seikhs, the Mahrattas, the Jâts, and the Pathans, destroyed them all during the disorders attending the decline of the Mahomedan empire; and they have never been renewed, because no man could feel secure that they would be suffered to stand ten years. A Hindoo believes that his soul in the next world is benefited by the blessings and grateful feelings of those of his fellow creatures, who, unmolested, eat the fruit and enjoy the shade of the trees he has planted during his sojourn in this world; and unless he can feel assured, that the traveller and the public in general will be permitted to do so, he can have no hope of any permanent benefit from his good work. It might as well be cut down, as pass into the hands of another person, who had no feeling of interest in the eternal repose of the soul of the planter. That person would himself have no advantage in the next world from giving the fruit and the shade of the trees to the public, since the prayers of those

who enjoyed them would be offered for the soul of the planter, and not for his—he, therefore, takes all their advantage to himself in this world, and the planter and the public are defrauded. Our government thought they had done enough to encourage the renewal of these groves when, by a regulation, they gave to the present lessees of villages the privileges of planting them themselves, or permitting others to plant them; but where they held their leases for a term of only five years, of course they would be unwilling to plant them. They might lose their lease when the time expired, or forfeit it before; and the successor would have the land on which the trees stood, and would be ble to exclude the public, if not the proprietor, from the enjoyment of any of their advantages. Our government has, in effect, during the thirty-five years that it has held the dominion of the north-western provinces, prohibited the planting of mango groves, while the old ones are every year disappearing. In the resumption of rent-free lands, even the ground on which the finest of these groves stand, has been recklessly resumed; and the proprietors told, that they may keep the trees they have, but cannot be allowed to renew them, as the lands are become the property of government. The lands of groves that have been the pride of families for a century and a half have been thus resumed. Government is not aware of the irreparable mischief they do the country they govern by such measures.

On my way back from Meerut, after the conversation already related with the farmer of the small village, my tents were one day pitched, in the month of December, amidst some very fine garden cultivation in the district of Alagurh; and in the evening I walked out as usual to have some talk with the peasantry. I came to a neighbouring well, at which four pair of bullocks were employed watering the surrounding fields of wheat for the market, and vegetables for the families of the cultivators. Four men were employed at the well, and two more in guiding the water to the little embanked squares into which they divide their fields.

I soon discovered that the most intelligent of the four was by caste a Jât; and I had a good deal of conversation with him as he stood landing the leather buckets, as the two pair of bullocks on his side of the well drew them to the top, a distance of forty cubits from the surface of the water beneath.

"Who built this well?" I began.

"It was built by one of my ancestors, six generations ago."

"How much longer will it last?"

"Ten generations more, I hope; for it is now just as good as when first made. It is of puckha bricks, without mortar cement."

"How many waterings do you give?"

"If there should be no rain, we shall require to give the land six waterings, as the water is sweet; had it been brackish four would do. Brackish water

is better for wheat than sweet water; but it is not so good for vegetables, or sugar-cane."

"How many beegas are watered from this well?"

"We water twenty beegas, or one hundred and five jureebs, from this well."

"And you pay the government how much?"

"One hundred rupees, at the rate of five rupees the beega. But only the five immediately around the well are mine; the rest belong to others."

"But the well belongs to you; and I suppose you get from the proprietors of the other fifteen, something for your water?"

"Nothing. There is more water than I want for my five beegas, and I give them what they require gratis; they acknowledge that it is a gift from me, and that is all I want."

"And what does the land beyond the range of your water of the same quality pay?"

"It pays at the rate of two rupees the beega; and it is with difficulty that they can be made to pay that. Water, sir, is a great thing, and with that and manure we get good crops from the land."

"How many returns of the seed?"

"From these twenty beegas with six waterings, and cross ploughing, and good manure, we contrive to get twenty returns; that is, if God is pleased with us, and blesses our efforts."

"And you maintain your family comfortably out of the return from your five?"

"If they were mine I could; but we had two or

three bad seasons seven years ago, and I was obliged to borrow eighty rupees from our banker at twenty-four per cent. for the subsistence of my family. I have hardly been able to pay him the interest with all I can earn by my labour, and I now serve him upon two rupees a month."

"But that is not enough to maintain you and your family?"

"No; but he only requires my services for half the day, and during the other half I work with others to get enough for them."

"And when do you expect to pay off your debt?"

"God only knows: if I exert myself, and keep a good *neeut*, (pure mind or intentions,) he will enable me or my children to do so some day or other. In the mean time, he has my five beegas of land in mortgage; and I serve him in the cultivation."

"But under those misfortunes, you could surely venture to demand something from the proprietors of the other fifteen beegas for the water of your well?"

"Never sir: it would be said all over the country, that such an one sold God's water for his neighbour's fields, and I should be ashamed to show my face! Though poor, and obliged to work hard, and serve others, I have still too much pride for that."

"How many bullocks are required for the tillage of these twenty beegas watered from your well?"

"These eight bullocks do all the work; they are dear now. This was purchased the other day on the

death of the old one, for twenty-six rupees. They cost about fifty rupees a pair—the late famine has made them dear."

"What did the well cost in making?"

"I have heard that it cost about one hundred and twenty rupees; it would cost about that sum to make one of this kind in the present day, not more."

"How long have the families of your caste been settled in these parts?"

"About six or seven generations—the country had before been occupied by a peasantry of the Kolar caste. Our ancestors came, built up mud fortifications, dug wells, and brought the country into cultivation; it had been reduced to a waste: for a long time we were obliged to follow the plough with our swords by our sides, and our friends around us with their matchlocks in their hand, and their matches lighted."

"Did the water in your well fail during the late seasons of drought?"

"No, sir; the water of this well never fails."

"Then how did bad seasons affect you?"

"My bullocks all died one after the other from want of fodder, and I had not the means to till my lands; subsistence became dear; and to maintain my family, I was obliged to contract the debt for which my lands are now mortgaged. I work hard to get them back; and if I do not succeed my children will, I hope, with the blessing of God."

The next morning I went on to Kaka, fifteen

miles; and finding my tents, people, and cattle without a tree to shelter them, I was much pleased to see in my neighbourhood, a plantation of mango and other fruit trees. It had, I was told, been planted only three years ago by Heeramun and Moteeram, two bankers of the place, and I sent for them, knowing that they would be pleased to have their good work noticed by any European gentleman. The trees are now covered with cones of thatch to shelter them from the frost. The merchants came, evidently much pleased, and I had a good deal of talk with them.

"Who planted this new grove?"

"We planted it three years ago."

"What did your well cost you, and how many trees have you?"

"We have about four hundred trees, and the well has cost us two hundred rupees, and will cost us two hundred more."

"How long will you require to water them?"

"We shall require to water the mango and other large trees ten or twelve years; but the orange, pomegranate, and other small trees will always require watering."

"What quantity of ground do the trees occupy?"

"They occupy twenty-two beegas of one hundred and five jureebs. We place them all twelve yards from each other—that is, the large trees; and the small ones we plant between them."

"How did you get the land?"

"We were many years trying in vain to get a grant from the government through the collector; at last we got him to certify on paper, that if the landholder would give us land to plant our grove upon, the government would have no objection. We induced the landholder, who is a constituent of ours, to grant us the land; and we made our well and planted our trees."

"You have done a good thing; what reward do you expect?"

"We hope that those who may enjoy the shade, the water, and the fruit, will think kindly of us when we are gone. The names of the great men who built the castles, palaces, and tombs at Delhi and Agra have been almost all forgotten, because no one enjoys any advantage from them; but the names of those who planted the few mango groves we see are still remembered and blessed by all who eat of their fruit, sit in their shade, and drink of their water, from whatever part of the world they come. Even the European gentlemen remember their names with kindness; indeed, it was at the suggestion of an European gentleman, who was passing this place many years ago, and talking with us as you are now, that we commenced this grove. 'Look over this plain,' said he; 'it has been all denuded of the fine groves with which it was, no doubt, once studded; though it is tolerably well cultivated, the traveller finds no shelter in it from the noonday sun—even the birds seem to have deserted you, because

you refuse them the habitations they find in other parts of India.' We told him that we would have the grove planted, and we have done so; and we hope God will bless our undertaking."

"The difficulty of getting land is, I suppose, the reason why more groves are not planted, now that property is secure?"

"How could men plant without feeling secure of the land they planted upon, and when government would not guarantee it? The landholder could guarantee it only during the five years of lease; and if at the end of that time government should transfer the lease of the estate to another, the land of the grove would be transferred with it. We plant not for worldly or immediate profits, but for the benefit of our souls in the next world—for the prayers of those who may derive benefit from our works when we are gone. Our landholders are good men, and will never resume the lands they have given us; and if the lands be sold at auction by government, or transferred to others, we hope the certificate of the collector will protect us from his grasp."

"You like your present government, do you not?"

"We like it much. There has never been a government that gave so much security to life and property: all we want is a little more of public service, and a little more of trade; but we have no cause to complain; it is our own fault if we are not happy."

"But I have been told that the people find the

returns from the soil diminishing, and attribute it to the perjury that takes place in our courts occasionally?"

"That, sir, is no doubt true: there has been a manifest falling off in the returns; and people everywhere think that you make too much use of the Koran and the Ganges water in your courts. God does not like to hear lies told upon one or other, and we are apt to think that we are all punished for the sins of those who tell them. May we ask, sir, what office you hold?"

"It is my office to do the work which God assigns to me in this world."

"The work of God, sir, is the greatest of all works; and those are fortunate who are chosen to do it!"

Their respect for me evidently increased when they took me for a clergyman. I was dressed in black.

"In the first place it is my duty to tell you, that God does not punish the innocent for the guilty; and that the perjury in courts has nothing to do with the diminution of returns from the soil. Where you apply water and manure, and alternate your crops, you always get good returns, do you not?"

"Very good returns; but we have had several bad seasons, that have carried away the greater part of our population; but a small portion of our lands can be irrigated for want of wells, and we had no rain for two or three years, or hardly any in due season;

and it was this deficiency of rain which the people thought a chastisement from heaven."

"But the wells were not dried up, were they?"

"No."

"And the people whose fields they watered had good returns, and high prices for produce?"

"Yes, they had; but their cattle died for want of food, for there was no grass anywhere to be found."

"Still they were better off than those who had no wells to draw water from, for their fields; and the only way to provide against such evils in future is, to have a well for every field. God has given you the fields, and he has given you the water; and when it does not come from the clouds you must draw it from your wells."

"True, sir, very true; but the people are very poor, and have not the means to form the wells they require."

"And if they borrow the money from you, you charge them what interest?"

"From one to two per cent. a month according to their character and circumstances; but interest is very often merely nominal, and we are in most cases glad to get back the principal alone."

"And what security have you for the land of your grove in case the landholder should change his mind; or die and leave sons not so well disposed?"

"In the first place, we hold his bonds for a debt of nine thousand rupees which he owes us, and which we have no hopes of his ever paying. In the next,

we have on stamped paper his deed of *gift*, in which he declares, that he has given us the land; and that he and his heirs for ever shall be bound to make good the rents, should government sell the estate for arrears of revenue. We wanted him to write this document in the regular form of a deed of sale; but he said that none of his ancestors had ever yet sold their lands, and he would not be the first to disgrace his family, or record their disgrace on stamped paper —it should, he was resolved, be a deed of gift!"

"But of course you prevailed upon him to take the price?"

"Yes. We prevailed upon him to take two hundred rupees for the land, and got his receipt for the same; indeed, it is so mentioned in the deed of gift; but still the landlord, who is a near relation of the late chief of Hutras, would persist in having the paper made out as a deed not of sale but of gift. God knows whether, after all, our grove will be secure—we must run the risk now we have begun upon it."

CHAPTER XIII.

PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE HINDOOS—TREE CULTIVATION, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR EXTENDING IT.

I may here be permitted to introduce, as something germane to the matter of the foregoing chapter, a RECOLLECTION of Jubbulpore, although we are now far past that locality.

My tents are pitched where they have often before been, on the verge of a very large and beautiful tank in a fine grove of mango trees, and close by a handsome temple. There are more handsome temples and buildings for accommodation on the other side of the tank, but they are gone sadly out of repair. The bank all round this noble tank is beautifully ornamented by fine banyan and peepul trees, between which and the water's edge intervene numerous clusters of the graceful bamboo. These works were formed about eighty years ago by a respectable agricultural capitalist who resided at this place, and died about twenty years after they were completed. No relation of his can now be found in the district;

and not one in a thousand of those who drink of the water or eat of the fruit, knows to whom he is indebted. There are round the place some beautiful bowlies, or large wells with flights of stone steps from the top to the water's edge, imbedded in clusters of beautiful trees. They were formed about the same time for the use of the public by men whose grandchildren have descended to the grade of cultivators of the soil, or belted attendants upon the present native collectors, without the means of repairing any of the injury which time is inflicting upon these magnificent works. Three or four young peepul trees have begun to spread their delicate branches and pale green leaves rustling in the breeze from the dome of this fine temple, which these infant Herculeses hold in their deadly grasp and doom to inevitable destruction. Pigeons deposit the seeds of the peepul tree, on which they chiefly feed, in the crevices of buildings.

No Hindoo dares, and no Christian or Mahomedan will condescend to lop off the heads of these young trees, and if they did, it would only put off the evil and inevitable day; for such are the vital powers of their roots, when they have once penetrated deeply into a building, that they will send out their branches again, cut them off as often as you may, and carry on their internal attack with undiminished vigour.

No wonder that superstition should have consecrated this tree, delicate and beautiful as it is, to the gods. The palace, the castle, the temple, and the

tomb, all those works which man is most proud to raise, to spread and to perpetuate his name, crumble to dust beneath her withering grasp. She rises triumphant over them all in her lofty beauty, bearing high in air amidst her light green foliage fragments of the wreck she has made, to show the nothingness of man's greatest efforts.

While sitting at my tent door looking out upon this beautiful sheet of water, and upon all the noble works around me, I thought of the charge, so often made against the people of this fine land, of the total want of *public spirit* among them, by those who have spent their Indian days in the busy courts of law, and still more busy commercial establishments of our great metropolis.

If by the term public spirit be meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their own enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment for the common good, there is perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollections of their countrymen for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility is the study of every Hindoo of rank and property. Such works tend, in his opinion, not only to spread and perpetuate his name in this world, but, through the good wishes and prayers of those who are benefited by them, to secure the favour of the Deity in the next.

According to their notions, every drop of rain

water or dew that falls to the ground from the green leaf of a fruit tree, planted by them for the common good, proves a refreshing draught for their souls in the next. When no descendant remains to pour the funeral libation in their name, the water from the trees they have planted for the public good is destined to supply its place. Every thing judiciously laid out to promote the happiness of their fellow creatures will, in the next world, be repaid to them tenfold by the Deity.

In marching over the country in the hot season, we every morning find our tents pitched on the green sward amid beautiful groves of fruit trees, with wells of puckha (brick or stone) masonry, built at great expense and containing the most delicious water; but how few of us ever dream of asking at whose cost the trees that afford us and our followers such agreeable shade, were planted, or the wells that afford us such copious streams of fine water in the midst of dry arid plains, were formed—we go on enjoying all the advantages which arise from the *noble public spirit* that animates the people of India to benevolent exertions, without once calling in question the truth of the assertion of our metropolitan friends, that "the people of India have no public spirit!"

Manmare, a respectable merchant of Mirzapore, who traded chiefly in bringing cotton from the valley of the Nerbudda and southern India, through Jubbulpore to Mirzapore, and in carrying back sugar and

spices in return, learning how much travellers on this great road suffered from the want of water near the Hilleea pass, under the Vindhya range of hills, commenced a work to remedy the evil in 1822. Not a drop of wholesome water was to be found within ten miles of the bottom of the pass, where the laden bullocks were obliged to rest during the hot months, when the greatest thoroughfare always took place. Manmare commenced a large tank and garden, and had laid out about twenty thousand rupees in the work, when he died. His son, Lulla Manmare, completed the work soon after his father's death, at a cost of eighty thousand rupees more, that travellers might enjoy all the advantages that his good old father had benevolently intended for them. The tank is very large, always full of fine water even in the dryest part of the dry season, with flights of steps of cut freestone from the water's edge to the top all round. A fine garden and shrubbery, with temples and buildings for accommodations, are attached, with an establishment of people to attend and keep them in order.

All the country around this magnificent work was a dreary solitude—there was not a human habitation within many miles on any side. Tens of thousands who passed this road every year were blessing the name of the man who had created it where it was so much wanted, when the new road from the Nerbudda to Mirzapore was made by the British government to descend some ten miles to

the north of it. As many miles were saved in the distance by the new cut, and the passage down made comparatively easy at great cost, travellers forsook the Hilleea road, and poor Manmare's work became comparatively useless! I brought the work to the notice of Lord William Bentinck, who in passing Mirzapore some time after, sent for the son, and conferred upon him a rich dress of honour, of which he has ever since been extremely proud.

Hundreds of works like this are undertaken every year for the benefit of the public by benevolent and unostentatious individuals, who look for their reward, not in the applause of newspapers and public meetings, but in the grateful prayers and good wishes of those who are benefited by them; and in the favour of the Deity in the next world, for benefits conferred upon his creatures in this.*

What the people of India want is not public spirit, for no men in the world have more of it than the Hindoos; but a disposition on the part of private individuals to combine their efforts and means in effecting great objects for the public good. With

* Within a few miles of Ghosulpore at the village of Tulwa, which stands upon the old high road leading to Mirzapore, is a still more magnificent tank with one of the most beautiful temples in India, all executed two or three generations ago at the expense of two or three lacks of rupees for the benefit of the public, by a very worthy man, who became rich in the service of the former government. His descendants, all save one, now follow the plough; and that one has a small rent-free village held on condition of appropriating the rents to the repair of the tank.

this disposition they will be, in time, inspired under our rule, when the enemies of all settled governments may permit us to divert a little of our intellect, and our revenue, from the duties of war to those of peace.

In the year 1829, while I held the civil charge of the district of Jubbulpore, in this valley of the Nerbudda, I caused an estimate to be made of the public works of ornament and utility it contained. The population of the district at that time amounted to five hundred thousand souls, distributed among four thousand and fifty-three occupied towns, villages, and hamlets. There were one thousand villages more which had formerly been occupied, but were then deserted. There were two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight tanks, two hundred and nine bowlies, or large wells, with flights of steps extending from the top down to the water when in its lowest stage; fifteen hundred and sixty wells lined with brick and stone, cemented with lime, but without stairs; three hundred and sixty Hindoo temples, and twenty-two Mahomedan mosques. The estimated cost of these works in grain at the present price, that is the quantity that would have been consumed, had the labour been paid in kind at the present ordinary rate, was eighty-six lacks, sixty-six thousand and forty-three rupees (86,66,043), £866,604 sterling.

The labourer was estimated to be paid at the rate of about two-thirds the quantity of corn he

would get in England if paid in kind, and corn sells here at about one-third the price it fetches in average seasons in England. In Europe, therefore, these works, supposing the labour equally efficient, would have cost at least four times the sum here estimated; and such works formed by private individuals for the public good, without any view whatever to return in profits, indicates a very high degree of *public spirit.*

The whole annual rent of the lands of this district amounts to about six hundred and fifty thousand rupees a year, (£65,000 sterling,) that is, five hundred thousand demandable by the government, and one hundred and fifty thousand by those who hold the lands at lease immediately under government, over and above what may be considered as the profits of their stock as farmers. These works must, therefore, have cost about thirteen times the amount of the annual rent of the whole of the lands of the districts—or the whole annual rent for above thirteen years!

But I have not included the groves of mango and tamarind, and other fine trees with which the district abounds. Two-thirds of the towns and villages are imbedded in fine groves of these trees, mixed with the banyan* and the peepul.† I am sorry they were not numbered; but I should estimate them at three

* Ficus Indica.—H. H. S.

† Ficus Religiosa.—H. H.

thousand; and the outlay upon a mango grove, is, on an average, about four hundred rupees.

The groves of fruit-trees planted by individuals for the use of the public, without any view to a return in profit, would, in this district, according to this estimate, have cost twelve lacks more, or about twice the amount of the annual rent of the whole of the lands. It should be remarked that the whole of these works had been formed under former governments; ours was established in the year 1817.

The Upper Dooab and the Delhi territories were denuded of their trees in the wars that attended the decline and fall of the Mahomedan empire, and the rise and progrees of the Seikhs, Jàts, and Mahrattas in that quarter. These lawless freebooters soon swept all the groves from the face of every country they occupied with their troops, and they never attempted to renew them or encourage the renewal. We have not been much more sparing; and the finest groves of fruit-trees have everywhere been recklessly swept down by our barrack-masters to furnish fuel for their brick-kilns; and I am afraid little or no encouragement is given for planting others to supply their place in those parts of India where they are most wanted.

We have a regulation, authorising the lessee of a village to plant a grove in his grounds, but where the settlements of the land revenue have been for short periods, as in all Upper and Central India, this

authority is by no means sufficient to induce them to invest their property in such works. It gives no sufficient guarantee that the lessee for the next settlement shall respect a grant made by his predecessors; and every grove of mango-trees requires outlay and care for at least ten years. Though a man destines the fruit, the shade, and the water for the use of the public, he requires to feel, that it will be held for the public in his name, and by his children and descendants; and never be exclusively appropriated by any man in power for his own use.

If the lands were still to belong to the lessee of the estate under government, and the trees only to the planter and to his heirs, he to whom the land belonged might very soon render the property in the trees of no value to the planter or his heirs.

If government wishes to have the Upper Dooab, the Delhi, Mutra, and Agra districts again enriched and embellished with mango groves, they will not delay to convey this feeling to the hundreds, nay thousands, who would be willing and anxious to plant them upon a single guarantee, that the lands upon which the trees stand shall be considered to belong to them and their heirs as long as these trees stand upon them. That the land, the shade, the fruit, and the water will be left to the free enjoyment of the public, we may take for granted, since the good which the planter's soul is to derive from such a work in the next world, must depend upon their being so; and all that is required to be stipulated in such grants is,

that mango, tamarind, peepul or bur trees, at the rate of twenty-five the English acre, shall be planted and kept up in every piece of land granted for the purpose; and that a well of pucka masonry shall be made for the purpose of watering them in the smallest, as well as in the largest piece of ground granted and kept always in repair.

If the grantee fulfil the conditions, he ought, in order to cover part of the expense, to be permitted to till the land under the trees till they grow to maturity and yield their fruit; if he fails, the lands, having been declared liable to resumption, should be resumed. The person soliciting such grants should be required to certify in his application, that he had already obtained the sanction of the present lessee of the village in which he wishes to have his grove, and for this sanction he would of course have to pay the full value of the land for the period of his lease. When his lease expires, the land in which the grove is planted would be excluded from the assessment; and when it is considered that every good grove must cost the planter more than fifty times the annual rent of the land, government may be satisfied, that they secure the advantage to their people at a very cheap rate!

Over and above the advantage of fruit, water, and shade, for the public, these groves tend much to secure the districts that are well studded with them, from the dreadful calamities that, in India, always attend upon deficient falls of rain in due seasons.

They attract the clouds, and make them deposit their stores in districts that would not otherwise be blessed with them; and hot and dry countries denuded of their trees, and by that means deprived of a great portion of that moisture to which they had been accustomed, and which they require to support vegetation, soon become dreary and arid wastes. The lighter particles, which formed the richest portion of their soil, blow off, and leave only the heavy aranaceous portion; and hence, perhaps, those sandy deserts, in which are often to be found the signs of a population once very dense.

In the Mauritius, the rivers were found to be diminishing under the rapid disappearance of the woods in the interior, when government had recourse to the measure of preventing further depredations, and they soon recovered their size.

The clouds brought up from the southern ocean by the south-east trade-wind, are attracted, as they pass over the island, by the forests in the interior, and made to drop their stores in daily refreshing showers. In many other parts of the world, governments have now become aware of this mysterious provision of nature; and have adopted measures to take advantage of it for the benefit of the people; and the dreadful sufferings to which the people of those of our districts, which have been the most denuded of their trees, have been of late years exposed from the want of rain in due season, may, perhaps, induce our Indian government to turn its thoughts to the subject.

The province of Malwa, which is bordered by the Nerbudda on the south, Guzerat on the west, Rajpootana on the north, and Allahabad on the east, is said never to have been visited by a famine; and this exemption from so great a calamity, must arise chiefly from its being so well studded with hills and groves. The natives have a couplet, which, like all good couplets on rural subjects, is attributed to Sehdeo, one of the five demigod brothers of the Mahabharut, to this effect—"If it does not thunder on such a night, you, father, must go to Malwa and I to Guzerat," meaning the rains will fail us here, and we must go to those quarters where they never fail.

CHAPTER XV.

CITIES AND TOWNS, FORMED BY PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS, DISAPPEAR AS SOVEREIGNS AND GOVERNORS CHANGE THEIR ABODES.

On the 17th and 18th, we went on twenty miles to Pulwul, which stands upon an immense mound in some places a hundred feet high, formed entirely of the debris of old buildings. There are an immense number of fine brick buildings in ruins; but not one of brick or stone at present inhabited. The place was once evidently under the former government the seat of some great public establishments, which, with their followers and dependents, constituted almost the entire population. The occasion which keeps such establishments at a place no sooner passes away, than the place is deserted and goes to ruin as a matter of course. Such is the history of Nineveh, Babylon, and all cities which have owed their origin and support entirely to the public es-

tablishments of the sovereign—any revolution that changed the seat of government depopulated a city.

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James the 1st of England to the court of Delhi, during the reign of Jehangeer, passing through some of the old capital cities of southern India, then deserted and in ruins, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I know not by what policy the Emperors seek the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, but now lie desolate and in rubbish. It must arise from a wish to destroy all the ancient cities, in order that there might appear nothing great to have existed before their time." But these cities, like all which are supported in the same manner, by the residence of a court and its establishments, become deserted as the seat of dominion is changed. Nineveh, built by Ninus, out of the spoils he brought back from the wide range of his conquests, continued to be the residence of the court and the principal seat of its military establishments for thirteen centuries, to the reign of Sardanapalus. During the whole of this time, it was the practice of the sovereigns to collect from all the provinces of the empire their respective quotas of troops, and to canton them within the city for one year, at the expiration of which they were relieved by fresh troops. In the last years of Sardanapalus, four provinces of the empire, Media, Persia, Babylonia, and Arabia, are said to have furnished a quota of four hundred thousand; and in the rebellion which closed his

reign, these troops were often beaten by those from the other provinces of the empire, which could not have been much less in number. The successful rebel, Arbaces, transferred the court and its appendages to his own capital, and Nineveh became deserted; and for more than eighteen centuries lost to the civilized world.

Babylon in the same manner; and Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Seleucia all, one after the other, became deserted as sovereigns changed their residence, and with it the seats of their public establishments, which alone supported them. Thus Thebes became deserted for Memphis, Memphis for Alexandria, and Alexandria for Cairo, as the sovereigns of Egypt changed theirs; and thus it has always been in India, where cities have been almost all founded on the same bases, the residence of princes or governors, and their public establishments civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

The city of Kunouj, on the Ganges, when conquered by Mahomed of Ghuznee, is stated by the historians of the conqueror, to have contained a standing army of five hundred thousand infantry, with a due proportion of cavalry and elephants, thirty thousand shops for the sale of pawns alone, and sixty thousand families of opera girls. The pawn dealers and opera girls were part and parcel of the court and its public establishments, and as much dependent upon the residence of the sovereign, as the civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers who

ate their pawns, and enjoyed their dancing and music; and this great city no sooner ceased to be the residence of the sovereign, the great proprietor of all the lands in the country, than it became deserted.

After the establishment of the Mahomedan dominion in India, almost all the Hindoo cities, within the wide range of their conquest, became deserted as the necessary consequence, as the military establishments were all destroyed or disbanded, and the religious establishments scattered, their lands confiscated, their idols broken, and their temples either reduced to ruins in the first ebullition of fanatical zeal, or left deserted and neglected to decay from want of those revenues by which alone they had been or could be supported. The towns and cities of the Roman empire, which owed their origin to the same cause, the residence of governors and their legions, or other public establishments, resisted similar shocks with more endurance, because they had most of them ceased to depend upon the causes in which they originated, and begun to rest upon other bases. When destroyed by wave after wave of barbarian conquest, they were restored for the most part by the residence of church dignitaries and their establishments; and the military establishments of the new order of things, instead of remaining as standing armies about the courts of princes, dispersed after every campaign like militia, to enjoy the fruits of the lands assigned for their maintenance, w[illegible]

alone they could be enjoyed in the rude state to which society had been reduced, upon the lands themselves.

For some time after the Mahomedan conquest of India, that part of it which was brought effectually under the new dominion, can hardly be considered to have had more than one city with its dependent towns and villages; because the Emperor chose to concentrate the greater part of his military establishments around the seat of his residence; and this great city became deserted whenever he thought it necessary or convenient to change that seat.

But when the Emperor began to govern his distant provinces by viceroys, he was obliged to confide to them a share of his military establishments, the only public establishments which a conqueror thought it worth while to maintain; and while they moved about in their respective provinces, the imperial camp became fixed. The great officers of state, enriched by the plunder of conquered provinces, began to spend their wealth in the construction of magnificent works for private pleasure or public convenience. In time, the viceroys began to govern their provinces by means of deputies, who moved about their respective districts, and enabled their masters, the viceroys of provinces, to convert their camps into cities, which in magnificence often rivalled that of the Emperor their master. The deputies themselves in time found that they could govern their respective districts from a central point; and as

their camps became fixed in the chosen spots, towns of considerable magnitude rose, and sometimes rivalled the capitals of the Viceroys. The Mahomedans had always a greater taste for architectural magnificence, as well in their private as in their public edifices, than the Hindoos, who sought the respect and good wishes of mankind through the medium of groves and reservoirs diffused over the country for their benefit. Whenever a Mahomedan camp was converted into a town or city, almost all the means of individuals were spent in the gratification of this taste. Their wealth in money and moveables would be, on their death, at the mercy of their prince—their offices would be conferred on strangers; tombs and temples, canals, bridges, and caravansaries, gratuitously for the public good, would tend to propitiate the Deity, and conciliate the good will of mankind, and might also tend to the advancement of their children in the service of the sovereign. The towns and cities which rose upon the sites of the standing camps of the governors of provinces and districts in India, were many of them as much adorned by private and public edifices as those which rose upon the standing camps of the Mahomedan conquerors of Spain.

Standing camps converted into towns and cities, it became in time necessary to fortify with walls against surprise under any sudden ebullition among the conquered people; and fortifications and strong garrisons often suggested to the bold and ambitious governors

of distant provinces, attempts to shake off the imperial yoke. That portion of the annual revenue, which had hitherto flowed in copious streams of tribute, to the distant imperial capital, was now arrested, and made to augment the local establishments, adorn the cities, and enrich the towns of the Viceroys, now become the sovereigns of independent kingdoms. The lieutenant-governors of these new sovereigns, possessed of fortified towns, in their turn often shook off the yoke of their masters in the same manner, and became in their turn the independent sovereigns of their respective districts. The whole resources of the countries subject to their rule, being employed to strengthen and improve their condition, they soon became rich and powerful kingdoms, adorned with splendid cities and populous towns, since the public establishments of the sovereigns, among whom all the revenues where expended, spent all they received in the purchase of the produce of the land and labour of the surrounding country, which required no other market.

Thus the successful rebellion of one Viceroy converted southern India into an independent kingdom; and the successful rebellion of his lieutenant-governors in time divided it into four independent kingdoms, each with a standing army of a hundred thousand men, and adorned with towns and cities of great strength and magnificence. But they continued to depend upon the causes in which they originated—the public establishments of the sovereign; and when

the Emperor Akbar and his successors, aided by their own intestine wars, had conquered these sovereigns, and again reduced their kingdoms to tributary provinces, almost all these cities and towns became depopulated as the necessary consequence. The public establishments were again moving about with the courts and camps of the Emperor and his Viceroys; and drawing in their train all those who found employment and subsistence in contributing to their efficiency and enjoyment. It was not as our ambassador, in the simplicity of his heart, supposed, the disinclination of the Emperors to see any other towns magnificent, save those in which they resided, which destroyed them, but their ambition to reduce all independent kingdoms to tributary provinces.

CHAPTER XVI.

MURDER OF MR. FRASER, AND EXECUTION OF THE NAWAB SHUMSHOODEEN.

At Pulwul, Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Wright, who had come on business, and Mr. Gubbins, breakfasted and dined with us. They complained sadly of the solitude to which they were condemned, but admitted that they should not be able to get through half so much business were they placed at a large station, and exposed to all the temptations and distractions of a gay and extensive circle, nor feel the same interest in their duties, or sympathy with the people, as they do when thrown among them in this manner. To give young men good feelings towards the natives, the only good way is to throw them among them at those out stations in the early part of their career, when all their feelings are fresh about them. This holds good, as well with the military as the civil officer, but more especially with the

latter. A young officer at an outpost with his corps, or part of it, for the first season or two, commonly lays in a good store of feeling towards his men that lasts him for life; and a young gentleman of the civil service lays in, in the same manner, a good store of sympathy and fellow feeling with the natives in general.

Mr. Gubbins is the magistrate and collector of one of the three districts into which the Delhi territories are divided, and he has charge of Ferozepore, the resumed estate of the late Nawab Shumshoodeen, which yields a net revenue of about two hundred thousand rupees a year. I have already stated that this Nawab took good care that his Mewattee plunderers should not rob within his own estate; but he not only gave them free permission to rob over the surrounding districts of our territories, but encouraged them to do so, that he might share in their booty. He was a handsome young man, and an extremely agreeable companion; but a most unprincipled and licentious character. No man who was reputed to have a handsome wife or daughter was for a moment safe within his territories. The following account of Mr. William Fraser's assassination by this Nawab, may, I think, be relied upon.

The Ferozepore Jageer was one of the principalities created under the principle of Lord Cornwallis's second administration, which was to make the security of the British dominions dependent upon the divisions among the independent native chiefs upon their

frontiers. The person receiving the grant or confirmation of such principality from the British government, "pledged himself to relinquish all claims to aid; and to maintain the peace in his own possessions." Ferozepore was conferred by Lord Lake, in 1805, upon Ahmud Buksh, for his diplomatic services, out of the territories acquired by us west of the Jumna, during the Mahratta wars. He had been the agent on the part of the Hindoo chiefs of Alwar, in attendance upon Lord Lake during the whole of that war. He was a great favourite; and his lordship's personal regard for him was thought by those chiefs, to have been so favourable to their cause, that they conferred upon him the Pergunnah of Loharo in hereditary rent-free tenure.

In 1822, Ahmud Buksh declared Shumshoodeen, his eldest son, his heir, with the sanction of the British government, and the Rajahs of Alwar. In February 1825, Shumshoodeen, at the request of his father, by a formal deed assigned over the Pergunnah of Loharo, as a provision for his younger brothers, by another mother, Ameenoodeen and Zeeoodeen;* and in October, 1826, he was finally invested by his father with the management; and the circumstance was notified to the British government, through the resident at Delhi, Sir Charles Metcalfe. Ahmud Buksh died in October, 1827. Disputes soon after

* Ameenoodeen and Zeeoodeen's mother was the Bhow Begum, or wife; Shumshoodeen's the Bow Khunum, or mistress.

arose between the brothers; and they expressed a desire to submit their claims to the arbitration of Sir Edward Colebroke, who had succeeded Sir Charles Metcalfe in the residency of Delhi. He referred the matter to the supreme government; and by their instructions, under date 11th of April, 1828, he was authorised to adjust the matter. He decided that Shumshoodeen should make a complete and unencumbered cession to his younger brothers of the Pergunnah of Loharo, without the reservation of any right of interference in the management, or of any condition of obedience to himself whatever; and that Ameenoodeen should, till his younger brother came of age, pay into the Delhi treasury for him the annual sum of five thousand two hundred and ten rupees, as his half share of the net proceeds, to be there held in deposit for him; and that the estate should, from the time he came of age, be divided between them in equal shares. This award was confirmed by government; but Sir Edward was recommended to alter it for an annual money payment to the two younger brothers, if he could do so with the consent of the parties.

The Pergunnah was transferred, as the money payment could not be agreed upon; and in September, Mr. Martin, who had succeeded Sir E. Colebrook, proposed to government, that the Pergunnah of Loharo should be restored to Shumshoodeen, in lieu of a fixed sum of twenty-six thousand rupees a year, to be paid by him annually to his two younger brothers.

This proposal was made, on the ground that Ameenoodeen could not collect the revenues from the refractory landholders, (instigated, no doubt, by the emissaries of Shumshoodeen,) and, consequently, could not pay his younger brother's revenue into the treasury. In calculating the annual *net* revenue of ten thousand four hundred and twenty rupees, fifteen thousand of the *gross* revenue had been estimated as the annual expenses of the mutual establishments of the two brothers. To the arrangement proposed by Mr. Martin, the younger brothers strongly objected; and proposed, in preference, to make over the Pergunnah to the British government, on condition of receiving the net revenue, whatever might be the amount. Mr. Martin was desired by the Governor-general to effect this arrangement, should Ameenoodeen appear still to wish it; but he preferred retaining the management of it in his own hands, in the hope that circumstances would improve.

Shumshoodeen, however, pressed his claim to the restoration of the Pergunnah so often, that it was at last, in September, 1833, insisted upon by government, on the ground that Ameenoodeen had failed to fulfil that article of the agreement which bound him to pay annually into the Delhi treasury, five thousand two hundred and ten rupees for his younger brother, though that brother had never complained; on the contrary, lived with him on the best possible terms, and was as averse as himself to the retransfer of the Pergunnah, on condition that they gave up

their claims to a large share of the moveable property of their late father, which had been already decided in their favour in the court of first instance. Mr. W. Fraser, who had succeeded to the office of Governor-general's representative in the Delhi territories, remonstrated strongly against this measure; and wished to bring it again under the consideration of government, on the grounds that Zeeoodeen had never made any complaint against his brother Ameenoodeen, for want of punctuality in the payment of his share of the net revenue after the payment of their mutual establishments; that the two brothers would be deprived by this measure of an hereditary estate to the value of sixty thousand rupees a year in perpetuity, burthened with the condition, that they relinquished a suit already gained in the court of first instance, and likely to be gained in appeal, involving a sum that would, of itself, yield them that annual sum, at the moderate interest of six per cent. The grounds alleged by him were not considered valid; and the Pergunnah was made over to Shumshoodeen. The Pergunnah now yields forty thousand rupees a year, and under good management may yield seventy thousand.

At Mr. Fraser's recommendation, Ameenoodeen went himself to Calcutta, and is said to have prevailed upon the government to take his case again into their consideration. Shumshoodeen had become a debauched and licentious character; and having criminal jurisdiction within his own estate, no one's

wife or daughter was considered safe; for when other means failed him, he did not scruple to employ assassins to effect his hated purposes, by removing the husband or father. Mr. Fraser became so disgusted with his conduct, that he would not admit him into his house when he came to Delhi, though he had, it may be said, brought him up as a child of his own; indeed he had been as fond of him as he could be of a child of his own; and the boy used to spend the greater part of his time with him. One day, after Mr. Fraser had refused to admit the Nawab to his house, Colonel Skinner, having some apprehensions that by such slights he might be driven to seek revenge by assassination, is said to have remonstrated with Mr. Fraser as his oldest and most valued friend. Mr. Fraser told him that he considered the Nawab to be still but a boy; and the only way to improve him was to treat him as such. It was, however, more by these slights, than by any supposed injuries, that Shumshoodeen was exasperated; and from that day he determined to have Mr. Fraser assassinated.

Having prevailed upon a man, Kureem Khan, who was at once his servant and boon companion, he sent him to Delhi with one of his carriages, which he was to have sold through Mr. M'Pherson, an European merchant of the city. He was ordered to stay there ostensibly for the purpose of learning the process of extracting copper from the fossil containing the ore, and purchasing dogs for the Nawab. He was to watch his opportunity, and shoot Mr. Fraser when-

ever he might find him out at night, attended by only one or two orderlies; to be in no haste, but to wait till he found a favourable opportunity, though it should be for several months. He had with him a groom named Roopla, and a Mehwatee attendant named Uneea, and they lodged in apartments of the Nawab's at Durreowgunge. He rode out morning and evening, attended by Uneea on foot, for three months, during which time he often met Mr. Fraser, but never under circumstances favourable to his purpose; and at last, in despair, returned to Ferozepore. Uneea had importuned him for leave to go home to see his children, who had been ill; and Kureem Khan did not like to remain without him. The Nawab was displeased with him for returning without leave, and ordered him to return to his post and effect the object of his mission. Uneea declined to return, and the Nawab recommended Kureem to take somebody else, but he had, he said, explained all his designs to this man, and it would be dangerous to entrust the secret to another; and he could, moreover, rely entirely upon the courage of Uneea on any trying occasion.

Twenty rupees were due to the treasury by Uneea, on account of the rent of the little tenement he held under the Nawab; and the treasurer consented, at the request of Kureem Khan, to receive this by small instalments, to be deducted out of the monthly wages he was to receive from him. He was, moreover, assured that he should have nothing to do but

to cook and eat; and should share liberally with Kureem in the one hundred rupees he was taking with him in money, and the letter of credit upon the Nawab's bankers at Delhi, for one thousand rupees more. The Nawab himself came with them as far as the village of Nugeena, where he used to hunt; and there Kureem requested permission to change his groom, as he thought Roopla too shrewd a man for such a purpose. He wanted, he said, a stupid, sleepy man, who would neither ask nor understand anything; but the Nawab told him that Roopla was an old and quiet servant, upon whose fidelity he could entirely rely; and Kureem consented to take him. Uneea's little tenement, upon which his wife and children resided, was only two miles distant, and he went to give instructions about gathering in the harvest, and to take leave of them. He told his wife that he was going to the capital on a difficult and dangerous duty, but that his companion, Kureem, would do it all no doubt. Uneea asked Kureem, before they left Nugeena, what was to be his reward; and he told him that the Nawab had promised them five villages in rent-free tenure. Uneea wished to learn from the Nawab himself what he might expect; and being taken to him by Kureem, was assured that he and his family should be provided for handsomely for the rest of their lives, if he did his duty well on this occasion.

On reaching Delhi they took up their quarters near Colonel Skinner's house, in the Bulvemar's

Ward, where they resided for two months. The Nawab had told Kureem to get a gun made for his purpose at Delhi, or purchase one, stating that his guns had all been purchased through Colonel Skinner, and would lead to suspicion if seen in his possession. On reaching Delhi, Kureem purchased an old gun, and desired Uneea to go to a certain man in the Chandoree Choke, and get it made in the form of a short blunderbuss, with a peculiar stock, that would admit of its being concealed under a cloak; and to say that he was going to Gwalior to seek service, if any one questioned him. The barrel was cut, and the instrument made exactly as Kureem wished it to be by the man whom he pointed out. They met Mr. Fraser every day, but never at night; and Kureem expressed regret that the Nowab should have so strictly enjoined him not to shoot him in the day time, which he thought he might do without much risk. Uneea got an attack of fever, and urged Kureem to give up the attempt, and return home, or at least permit him to do so. Kureem himself became weary, and said he would do so very soon if he could not succeed; but that he should certainly shoot *some European gentleman* before he set out, and tell his master that he had taken him for Mr. Fraser, to save appearances! Uneea told him that this was a question between him and his master, and no concern of his.

At the expiration of two months, a peon came to learn what they were doing. Kureem wrote a

letter by him to the Nawab, saying, "that *the dog* he wished was never to be seen without ten or twelve people about him; and that he saw no chance whatever of finding him, except in the midst of them; but that if he wished he would purchase this *dog* in the midst of the crowd." The Nawab wrote a reply, which was sent by a trooper, with orders that it should be opened in presence of no one but Uneea. The contents were—"I command you not to purchase *the dog* in presence of many persons, as its *price* will be greatly raised. You may purchase him before one person, or even two, but not before more. I am in no hurry, the longer the time you take the better; but do not return without purchasing *the dog*." That is, without killing Mr. Fraser!

They went on every day to watch Mr. Fraser's movements. Leaving the horse with the groom, sometimes in one old ruin of the city, and sometimes in another, ready saddled for flight, with orders that he should not be exposed to the view of passers by, Kureem and Uneea used to pace the streets, and on several occasions fell in with him, but always found him attended by too many followers of one kind or another for their purpose. At last, on Sunday, the 13th of March, 1835, Kureem heard that Mr. Fraser was to attend a natch (dance) given by Hindoo Rao, the brother of the Byza Bae, who then resided at Delhi; and determining to try whether he could not shoot him from horseback, he sent away his groom as soon as he had ascertained that Mr. Fraser was

actually at the dance. Uneea went in and mixed among the assembly; and as soon as he saw Mr. Fraser rise to depart, he gave intimation to Kureem, who ordered him to keep behind, and make off as fast as he could, as soon as he should hear the report of his gun.

A little way from Hindoo Rao's house the road branches off; that to the left is straight, while that to the right is circuitous. Mr. Fraser was known always to take the straight road, and upon that Kureem posted himself, as the road up to the place where it branched off was too public for his purpose. As it happened, Mr. Fraser, for the first time, took the circuitous road to the right, and reached his home without meeting Kureem! Uneea placed himself at the cross way, and waited there till Kureem came up to him. On hearing that he had taken the right road, Kureem said, "that a man in Mr. Fraser's situation must be a strange (Kafir) unbeliever not to have such a thing as a torch with him in a dark night. Had he had what he ought," he said, "I should not have lost him this time!"

They passed him on the road somewhere or other almost every afternoon after this for seven days; but could never fall in with him after dark. On the eighth day, Sunday, the 22nd of March, Kureem went as usual, in the forenoon, to the great Mosque, to say his prayers; and on his way back in the afternoon, he purchased some plums, which he was eating when he came up to Uneea, whom he found cooking

his dinner. He ordered his horse to be saddled immediately; and told Uneea to make haste and eat his dinner, as he had seen Mr. Fraser at a party given by the Rajah of Kishengurh. "*When his time is come*," said Kureem, "we shall no doubt find an opportunity to kill him, if we watch him carefully." They left the groom at home that evening, and proceeded to the Durgah (church) near the canal. Seeing Uneea with merely a stick in his hand, Kureem bid him go back and change it for a sword, while he went in and said his evening prayers.

On being rejoined by Uneea, they took the road to cantonments, which passed by Mr. Fraser's house; and Uneea observed, "that the risk was hardly equal in this undertaking, he being on foot, while Kureem was on horseback: that he should be sure to be taken, while the other might have a fair chance of escape." It was now quite dark, and Kureem bid him stand by sword in hand; and if any body attempted to seize his horse when he fired, cut him down, and be assured, that while he had life he would never suffer him, Uneea, to be taken. Kureem continued to patrole up and down on the high road, that noboby might notice him, while Uneea stood by the road side. At last, about eleven o'clock, they heard Mr. Fraser approach, attended by one trooper, and two Peons, on foot; and Kureem walked his horse slowly, as if he had been going from the city to the cantonments, till Mr. Fraser came up within a few paces of him, near the gate leading into his

house. Kureem Khan, on leaving his house, had put one large ball into his short blunderbuss; and when confident that he should now have an opportunity of shooting Mr. Fraser, he put in two more small ones. As Mr. Fraser's horse was coming up on the left side, Kureem Khan turned round his; and as he passed by, presented his blunderbuss—fired—and all three balls passed into Mr. Fraser's breast. All three horses reared at the report and flash—and Mr. Fraser fell dead on the ground. Kureem galloped off, followed a short distance by the trooper, and the two Peons went off and gave information to Major Pew and Cornet Robinson, who resided near the place. They came in all haste to the spot, and had the body taken to the deceased's own house; but no signs of life remained. They reported the murder to the magistrate, and the city gates were closed, as the assassin had been seen to enter the city by the trooper.

Uneea ran home through the Cabul gate of the city, unperceived, while Kureem entered by the Ajmere gate, and passed first through the encampment of Hindoo Rao, to efface the traces of his horse's feet. When he reached their lodgings, he found Uneea there before him; and Roopla, the groom, seeing his horse in a sweat, told him that he had had a narrow escape—that Mr. Fraser had been killed, and orders given for the arrest of any horseman that might be found in or near the city. He told him to hold his tongue, and take care of the horse; and calling for a light, he and Uneea tore up

every letter he had received from Ferozepore, and dipped the fragments in water, to efface the ink from them. Uneea asked him what he had done with the blunderbuss, and was told that it had been thrown into a well. Uneea now concealed three flints that he kept about him in some sand in the upper story they occupied, and threw an iron ramrod, and two spare bullets, into a well, near the mosque.

The next morning, when he heard that the city gates had been all shut to prevent any one from going out till strict search should be made, Kureem became a good deal alarmed, and went to seek council from Mogul Beg, the friend of his master; but when in the evening he heard that they had been again opened, he recovered his spirits; and the next day he wrote a letter to the Nawab, saying that he had purchased the *dogs* that he wanted, and would soon return with them. He then went to Mr. M'Pherson, and actually purchased from him, for the Nawab, some dogs and pictures; and the following day sent Roopla, the groom, with them to Ferozepore, accompanied by two bearers. A pilgrim lodged in the same place with these men, and was present when Kureem came home from the murder, and gave his horse to Roopla. In the evening, after the departure of Roopla with the dogs, four men of the Goojur caste came to the place, and Kureem sat down and smoked a pipe with one of them, who said that he had lost his bread by Mr. Fraser's death, and should be glad to see the murderer punished—that he was

known to have worn a green vest, and he hoped he would soon be discovered. The pilgrim came up to Kureem shortly after these four men went away; and said that he had heard from some one, that he, Kureem, was himself suspected of the murder. He went again to Mogul Beg, who told him not to be alarmed, that, happily, the *Regulations* were now in force in the Delhi territory, and that he had only to stick steadily to one story to be safe!

He now desired Uneea to return to Ferozepore with a letter to the Nawab, and to assure him that he would be staunch and stick to one story, though they should seize him and confine him in prison for twelve years. "He had," he said, "already sent off part of his clothes, and Uneea should now take away the rest, so that nothing suspicious should be left near him.

The next morning Uneea set out on foot, accompanied by Islamoollah, a servant of Mogul Beg's, who was also the bearer of a letter to the Nawab. They hired two ponies when they became tired, but both flagged before they reached Nugeena, whence Uneea proceeded to Ferozepore on a mare belonging to the native collector, leaving Islamoollah behind. He gave his letter to the Nawab, who desired him to describe the affair of the murder. He did so. The Nawab seemed very much pleased; and asked whether Kureem appeared to be in any alarm. Uneea told him that he did not; and had resolved to stick to one story, though he should be imprisoned for

twelve years. "Kureem Khan," said the Nawab, turning to the brother-in-law of the former, Wasil Khan, and Hussun Alee, who stood near him—"Kureem Khan is a very brave man, whose courage may be always relied on!" He gave Uneea eighteen rupees; and told him to change his name, and keep close to Wasil Khan. They retired together; but while Wasil Khan went to his house, Uneea stood on the road unperceived, but near enough to hear Hussun Alee urge the Nawab to have him put to death immediately, as the only chance of keeping the fatal secret. He went off immediately to Wasil Khan, and prevailed upon him to give him leave to go home for that night to see his family, promising to be back the next morning early.

He set out forthwith; but had not been long at home when he learned that Hussun Alee, and another confidential servant of the Nawab, were come in search of him with some troopers. He concealed himself in the roof of his house, and heard them ask his wife and children where he was, saying they wanted his aid in getting out some hyenas they had traced into their dens in the neighbourhood. They were told that he had gone back to Ferozepore, and returned; but were sent back by the Nawab to make a more careful search for him. Before they came, however, he had gone off to his friends Kumuroodeen and Johuree, two brothers who resided in the Rao Rajah's territory. To this place he was followed by some Mehwaties, whom the Nawab had induced,

under the promise of a large reward, to undertake to kill him. One night he went to two acquaintances, Mukram and Shahamut, in a neighbouring village, and begged them to send to some English gentleman at Delhi, and solicit for him a pardon, on condition of his disclosing all the circumstances of Mr. Fraser's murder. They promised to get everything done for him through a friend in the police at Delhi, and set out for that purpose, while Uneea returned and concealed himself in the hills. In six days they came with a paper, purporting to be a promise of pardon, from the court of Delhi, and desired Kumurooden to introduce them to Uneea. He told them to return to him in three days, and he would do so; but he went off to Uneea in the hills, and told him that he did not think these men had really got the papers from the English gentlemen—that they appeared to him to be in the service of the Nawab himself! Uneea was, however, introduced to them when they came back, and requested that the paper might be read to him. Seeing through their designs, he again made off to the hills, while they went out in search, as they pretended, of a man to read it, but, in reality, to get some people who were waiting in the neighbourhood to assist in securing him, and taking him off to the Nawab.

Finding, on their return, that Uneea had escaped, they offered high rewards to the two brothers if they would assist in tracing him out; and Johuree was taken to the Nawab, who offered him a very high re-

ward if he would bring Uneea to him, or at least take measures to prevent his going to the English gentlemen. This was communicated to Uneea, who went through Bhurtpore to Bareilly, and from Bareilly to Secundrabad, where he heard, in the beginning of July, that both Kureem and the Nawab were to be tried for the murder; and that the judge, Mr. Colvin, had already arrived at Delhi to conduct the trial. He now determined to go to Delhi and give himself up. On his way he was met by Mr. Simon Fraser's man, who took him to Delhi, where he confessed his share in the crime, became king's evidence at the trial, and gave an interesting narrative of the whole affair.

Two water carriers, in attempting to draw up the brass jug of a carpenter, which had fallen into the well the morning after the murder, pulled up the blunderbuss which Kureem Khan had thrown into the same well. This was afterwards recognised by Uneea, and the man whom he pointed out as having made it for him. Two of the four Goojurs, who were mentioned as having visited Kureem immediately after the murder, went to Brigadier Fast, who commanded the troops at Delhi, fearing that the native officers of the European civil functionaries might be in the interest of the Nawab, and got them made away with. They told him that Kureem Khan seemed to answer the description of the man named in the proclamation as the murderer of Mr. Fraser; and he sent them with a note to the commissioner

Mr. Metcalfe, who sent them to the magistrate, Mr. Fraser, who accompanied them to the place and secured Kureem, with some fragments of important papers. The two Mahwaties, who had been sent to assassinate Uneea, were found, and they confessed the fact: the brother of Uneea, Rahmut, was found, and he described the difficulty Uneea had to escape from the Nawab's people sent to murder him. Roopla, the groom, deposed to all that he had seen during the time he was employed as Kureem's groom at Delhi. Several men deposed to having met Kureem, and heard him asking after Mr. Fraser a few days before the murder. The two peons who were with Mr. Fraser when he was shot, deposed to the horse which he rode at the time, and which was found with him.

Kureem Khan and the Nawab were both convicted of the crime, sentenced to death, and executed at Delhi. I should mention that suspicion had immediately attached to Kureem Khan; he was known for some time to have been lurking about Delhi, on the pretence of purchasing dogs; and it was said that had the Nawab really wanted dogs, he would not have sent to purchase them by a man whom he admitted to his table, and treated on terms of equality. He was suspected of having been employed on such occasions before—known to be a good shot, and a good rider, who could fire and reload very quickly while his horse was in full gallop, and called in consequence the Bharmaroo. His horse, which was found in the stable by the Goojur spies, who had before

been in Mr. Fraser's service, answered the description given of the murderer's horse by Mr. Fraser's attendants; and the Nawab was known to cherish feelings of bitter hatred against Mr. Fraser.

The Nawab was executed some time after Kureem, on Thursday morning, the 3rd of October, 1835, close outside the north, or Cashmere Gate, leading to the cantonments. He prepared himself for the execution in an extremely rich and beautiful dress of light green, the colours which martyrs wear; but he was made to exchange this, and he then chose one of simple white, and was too conscious of his guilt to urge strongly his claim to wear what dress he liked on such an occasion.

The following corps were drawn up around the gallows, forming three sides of a square: the first regiment of cavalry, the twentieth, thirty-ninth, and sixty-ninth regiments of native infantry; Major Pew's light field battery, and a strong party of police. On ascending the scaffold, the Nawab manifested symptoms of disgust at the approach to his person of the *sweeper*, who was to put the rope round his neck; but he soon mastered his feelings, and submitted with a good grace to his fate. Just as he expired his body made a last turn, and left his face towards the *west*, or the *tomb of his prophet*, which the Mahomedans of Delhi considered a miracle, indicating that he was a martyr—not as being innocent of the murder, but as being executed for the murder of an *unbeliever!* Pilgrimages were for some time made

to the Nawab's tomb; but I believe they have long since ceased with the short gleam of sympathy that his fate excited. The only people that still recollect him with feelings of kindness are the prostitutes and dancing women of the city of Delhi, among whom most of his revenues were squandered. In the same manner was Wuzeer Alee recollected for many years by the prostitutes and dancing women of Benares, after the massacre of Mr. Cherry and all the European gentlemen of that station, save one, Mr. Davis, who bravely defended himself, wife, and children, against a host, with a hog spear, on the top of his house. No European could pass Benares for twenty years after Wuzeer Alee's arrest and confinement in the garrison of Fort William, without hearing from the windows songs in his praise, and in praise of the massacre.

It is supposed that the Nawab, Tyz Mahomed Khan, of Ghujper, was deeply implicated in this murder, though no proof of it could be found. He died soon after the execution of Shumshoodeen; and was succeeded in his fief by his eldest son, Tyz Alee Khan. This fief was bestowed on the father of the deceased, whose name was Nijabut Alee Khan, by Lord Lake, on the termination of the war in 1805, for the aid he had given to the retreating army under Colonel Monson.

One circumstance attending the execution of the Nawab Shumshoodeen, seems worthy of remark. The magistrate, Mr. Frascott, desired his crier to go

through the city the evening before the execution, and proclaim to the people, that those who might wish to be present at the execution were not to encroach upon the line of sentries that would be formed to keep clear an allotted space round the gallows—nor to carry with them any kind of arms; but the crier, seemingly retaining in his recollection only the words *arms* and *sentries*, gave out, after his *O yes, O yes*, that the sentries had orders to use their arms, and shoot any man, woman, or child that should presume to go outside the wall to look at the execution of the Nawab! No person, in consequence, ventured out till the execution was over, when they went to see the Nawab himself converted into smoke; as the general impression was, that as life should leave it, the body was to be blown off into the air by a general discharge of musketry and artillery! Mogul Beg was acquitted for want of judicial proof of his guilty participation in the crime.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARRIAGE OF A JAT CHIEF.

On the 19th, we came on to Balumgur, fifteen miles over a plain, better cultivated and more studded with trees than that which we had been coming over for many days before. The water was nearer the surface—more of the fields were irrigated; and those which were not so, looked better; range of sandstone hills, ten miles off to the west, running north and south. Bulumgur is held in rent-free tenure, by a young Jât chief, now about ten years of age. He resides in a mud fort, in a handsome palace built in the European fashion. In an extensive orange garden, close outside the fort, he is building a very handsome tomb over the spot where his father's elder brother was buried. The whole is formed of white and black marble, and the fine white sandstone of Roopbass, and so well conceived and executed as to make it evident, that demand is the only thing wanting to cover India with works of art equal to any that were formed in the palmy days of

the Mahomedan empire. The Rajah's young sister had just been married to the son of the Jât chief of Naba, who was accompanied in his matrimonial visit (berat) by the chief of Ludora, and the son of the Seikh chief of Puteealee, with a cortège of one hundred elephants, and above fifteen thousand people.*

* The Seikh is a military nation formed out of the Jâts, (who were without a place among the castes of the Hindoos,) by that strong bond of union, the love of conquest and plunder. Their religious and civil codes are the Goorunts, books written by their reputed prophets, the last of whom was Gooroo Govind, in whose name Runjeet Sing stamps his gold coins with this legend. "The sword, the *pot* victory, and conquest, were quickly found in the grace of Gooroo Govind Sing." This prophet died insane in the end of the seventeenth century. He was the son of a priest, Teg Bahadur, who was made a martyr of by the bigoted Mahomedans of Patna, in 1675. The son became a Peter the hermit, in the same manner as Hergovind before him, when his father, the prophet Arjunmul, was made a martyr by the fanaticism of the same people. A few more such martyrdoms would have set the Seikhs up for ever. They admit converts freely, and while they have a fair prospect of conquest and plunder they will find them; but when they cease they will be swallowed up in the great ocean of Hindooism, since they have no chance of getting up "an army of martyrs" while we have the supreme power. They detest us for the same reason that the military followers of the other native chiefs detest us, because we say, "thus far shall you go and no farther," in your career of conquest and plunder. As governors, they are even worse than the Mahrattas—utterly detestable. They have not the slightest idea of a duty towards the people from whose industry they are provided. Such a thing was never dreamed of by a Seikh. They continue to receive in marriage the daughters of Jâts, as in this case; but they will not give their daughters in marriage to Jâts.

The young chief of Balumgur mustered a cortège of sixty elephants, and about ten thousand men, to attend him out in the *Istaekbal*,, to meet and welcome his guests. The bridegroom's party had to expend about six hundred thousand rupees in this visit alone. They scattered copper money all along the road from their homes to within seven miles of Balumgur. From this point to the gate of the fort they had to scatter silver; and from this gate to the door of the palace they scattered gold and jewels of all kinds. The son of the Puteealee chief, a lad of about ten years of age, sat upon his elephant with a bag containing six hundred gold mohurs, of two guineas each, mixed up with an infinite variety of gold earrings, pearls, and precious stones, which he scattered in handfuls among the crowd. The scattering of the copper and silver had been left to inferior hands. The costs of the family of the bride are always much greater than that of the bridegroom. They are obliged to entertain, at their own expense, all the bridegroom's guests as well as their own, as long as they remain; and over and above this, on the present occasion, the Rajah gave a rupee to every person that came, invited or uninvited. An immense concourse of people had assembled to share in this donation, and to scramble for the money scattered along the road; and ready money enough was not found in the treasury. Before a further supply could be got, thirty thousand more had collected, and every one got his rupee. They have them all put into pens

like sheep. When all are in, the doors are opened at a signal given, and every person is paid his rupee as he goes out. Some European gentlemen were standing upon the top of the Rajah's palace, looking at the procession as it entered the fort, and passed underneath; and the young chief threw up some handfuls of pearls, gold, and jewels among them. Not one of them would of course condescend to stoop to take up any; but their servants showed none of the same dignified forbearance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COLLEGIATE ENDOWMENT OF MAHOMEDAN TOMBS AND MOSQUES.

On the 20th, we came to Budderpore, twelve miles over a plain, with the range of hills on our left approaching nearer and nearer the road, and separating us from the old city of Delhi. We passed through Tureedpore, once a large town, and called after its founder, Sheikh Turreed, whose mosque is still in good order, though there is no person to read or hear prayers in it. We passed also two fine bridges, one of three and one of four arches, both over what were once streams, but are now dry beds of sand. The whole road shows signs of having been once thickly peopled, and highly adorned with useful and ornamental works when Delhi was in its glory. Every handsome mausoleum among Mahomedans was provided with its mosque, and endowed by the founder with the means of maintaining men of learning, to read their Koran over the grave of

the deceased and in his chapel; and as long as the endowment lasted, the tomb continued to be at the same time a college. They read the Quoran morning and evening over the grave, and prayers in the chapel at the stated periods; and the rest of their time is commonly devoted to the instruction of the youths of their neighbourhood, either gratis or for a small consideration. Apartments in the tomb were usually set aside for the purpose; and these tombs did ten times more for education in Hindoostan, than all the colleges formed especially for the purpose. We might suppose, that rulers who formed and endowed such works all over the land, must have had more of the respect and the affections of the great mass of the people than we, who, as my friend upon the Jumna has it, "build nothing but private dwelling-houses, factories, courts of justice, and jails," can ever have; but this conclusion would not be altogether just. Though every mosque and mausoleum was a seat of learning, that learning, instead of being a source of attraction and conciliation between the Mahomedans and Hindoos, was, on the contrary, a source of perpetual repulsion and discord between them—it tended to keep alive in the breasts of the Mussulmans a strong feeling of religious indignation against the worshippers of idols; and of dread and hatred in those of the Hindoos. The Quoran was the book of books, spoken by God to the angel Gabriel, in parts as occasion required, and repeated by him to Mahomed; who, unable to write

himself, dictated them to any one who happened to be present when he received the divine communications;* it contained all that it was worth man's while to study or know—it was from the Deity, but at the same time coeternal with him—it was his divine eternal spirit, inseparable from him from the beginning, and, therefore, like him, uncreated. This book, to read which was of itself declared to be the highest of all species of worship, taught war against the worshippers of idols, to be of all merits the greatest in the eye of God; and no man could well rise from the perusal without the wish to serve God by some act of outrage against them. These buildings were, therefore, looked upon by the Hindoos, who composed the great mass of the people, as a kind of religious volcanos, always ready to explode, and pour out their lava of intolerance and outrage upon the innocent people of the surrounding country.

If a Hindoo fancied himself injured or insulted by a Mahomedan, he was apt to revenge himself upon the Mahomedans generally, and insult their religion

* Mahomed is said to have received these communications in all situations; sometimes while riding along the road on his camel, he became suddenly red in the face, and greatly agitated; he made his camel sit down immediately, and called for some one to write. His rhapsodies were all written at the time on leaves and thrown into a box. Gabriel is believed to have made him repeat over the whole once every year during the month of Ramzan. On the year he died, Mahomed told his followers, that the angel had made him repeat them over twice that year, and that he was sure he would not live to receive another visit!

by throwing swine's flesh, or swine's blood, into one of their tombs or churches; and the latter either flew to arms at once to avenge their God, or retaliated by throwing the flesh or the blood of the cow into the first Hindoo temple at hand, which made the Hindoos fly to arms. The guilty and the wicked commonly escaped, while numbers of the weak, the innocent, and the unoffending were slaughtered. The magnificent buildings, therefore, instead of being at the time bonds of union, were commonly sources of the greatest discord among the whole community, and of the most painful humiliation to the Hindoo population. During the bigoted reign of Oürungzebe and his successors, a Hindoo's presence was hardly tolerated within sight of these tombs or churches; and had he been discovered entering one of them, he would probably have been hunted down like a mad dog. The recollection of such outrages, and the humiliations to which they gave rise, associated as they always are in the minds of the Hindoos with the sight of these buildings, are perhaps the greatest source of our strength in India; because they at the same time feel, that it is to us alone they owe the protection which they now enjoy from similar injuries. Many of my countrymen, full of virtuous indignation at the outrages which often occur during the processions of the Mohorum, particularly when these happen to take place at the same time with some religious procession of the Hindoos, are very anxious that our government should interpose

its authority to put down both. But these processions and occasional outrages are really sources of great strength to us; they show at once the necessity for the interposition of an impartial tribunal, and a disposition on the part of the rulers to interpose impartially. The Mahomedan festivals are regulated by the lunar, and those of the Hindoos by the solar year; and they cross each other every thirty or forty years, and furnish fair occasions for the local authorities to interpose effectually. People who receive or imagine insults or injuries, commonly postpone their revenge till these religious festivals come round, when they hope to be able to settle their accounts with impunity among the excited crowd. The mournful procession of the Mohurum, when the Mahomedans are inflamed to madness by the recollection of the really affecting incidents of the massacre of the grandchildren of their prophet, and by the images of their tombs, and their sombre music, crosses that of the Hoolee, in which the Hindoos are excited to tumultuous and licentious joy by their bacchanalian songs and dances every thirty-six years; and they reign together for some four or five days, during which the scene, in every large town, is really terrific. The processions are liable to meet in the street, and the lees of the wine of the Hindoos, or the red powder which is substituted for them, is liable to fall upon the tombs of the others. Hindoos pass on, forgetting in their saturnalian joy, all distinctions of age, sex, or religion, their clothes and persons

besmeared with the red powder, which is moistened and thrown from all kinds of machines over friend and foe; while meeting these come the Mahomedans, clothed in their green mourning, with gloomy downcast looks, beating their breasts, ready to kill themselves, and too anxious for an excuse to kill anybody else. Let but one drop of the lees of joy fall upon the image of the tomb as it passes, and a hundred swords fly from their scabbards; many an innocent person falls; and woe be to the town in which the magistrate is not at hand with his police and military force. Proudly conscious of their power, the magistrates refuse to prohibit one class from laughing because the other happens to be weeping; and the Hindoos, on such occasions, laugh the more heartily to let the world see that they are free to do so.

A very learned Hindoo once told me in central India, that the oracle of Mahadeo had been, at the same time, consulted at three of his greatest temples—one in the Deccan, one in Rajpootana, and one I think in Bengal—as to the result of the government of India by Europeans, who seemed determined to fill all the high offices of administration with their own countrymen, to the exclusion of the people of the country. A day was appointed for the answer; and when the priest came to receive it, they found Mahadeo (Sewa) himself, with an European complexion, and dressed in European clothes! He told them, "that their European government was in reality nothing more than a multiplied incarnation

of himself; and that he had come among them in this shape, to prevent their cutting each other's throats as they had been doing for some centuries past; that these, his incarnations, appeared to have no religion themselves, in order that they might be the more impartial arbitrators, between the people of so many different creeds and sects, who now inhabited the country; that they must be aware that they never had before been so impartially governed, and that they must continue to obey these their governors, without attempting to pry further into futurity or the will of their gods." Mahadeo performs a part in the great drama of the Ramaen, or the rape of Seeta; and he is the only figure there that is represented with a *white face!*

I was one day praising the law of primogeniture among ourselves, to a Mahomedan gentleman of high rank; and defending it on the ground, that it prevented that rivalry and bitterness of feeling among brothers, which were always found among the Mahomedans, whose law prescribes an equal division of property, real and personal, among the sons, and the *choice of the wisest* among them as successor to the government. "This," said he, "is no doubt the source of our weakness; but why should you condemn a law which is to you a source of so much strength? I one day," said he, "asked Mr. Seaton, the Governor-general's representative at the court of Delhi, which of all things he had seen in India he liked best? 'You have,' replied he smiling, 'a small species

of melon called *phoot*, (disunion,) this is the thing we like best in your land.' There was," continued my Mahomedan friend, "an infinite deal of sound political wisdom in this one sentence. Mr. Seaton was a very good, and a very wise man—our European governors of the present day are not at all the same kind of thing. I asked Mr. B., a judge, the same question many years afterwards, and he told us that he thought the rupees were the best things he had found in India. I asked Mr. T., the commissioner, and he told me that he thought the tobacco which he smoked in his hookah was the best thing. And pray sir, what do you think the best thing?"

"Why, Nawab Sahib, I am always very well pleased when I am free from pain, and can get my nostrils full of cool air, and my mouth full of cold water in this hot land of yours; and I think most of my countrymen are the same. Next to these, the thing we all admire most in India, Nawab Sahib, is the entire exemption which you, and I, and every other gentleman, native or European, enjoy from the taxes which press so heavily upon them in other countries. In Cashmere, no midwife is allowed to attend a woman in her confinement till a heavy tax has been paid to Runjeet Sing for the infant; and in England, a man cannot let the light of heaven into his house till he has paid a tax for the window."

"Nor keep a dog, or shoot a partridge in the jungle, I am told," said the Nawab.

"Quite true, Nawab Sahib."

"Hindoostan, sir," said he, "is after all the best country in the world; the only thing wanted is a little more (roozgar) employment for the educated classes under government."

"True, Nawab Sahib, we might, no doubt, greatly multiply this employment to the advantage of those who got the places, but we should have to multiply at the same time the taxes, to the great disadvantage of those who did not get them."

"True, very true, sir," said my old friend.

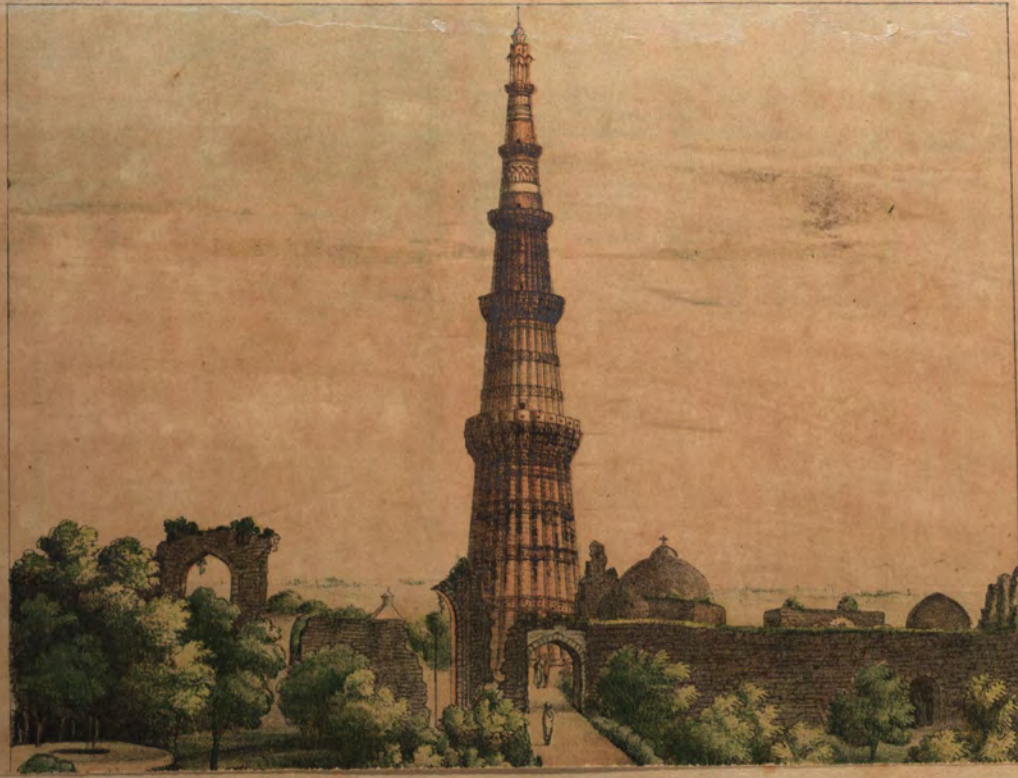
CHAPTER XIX.

THE OLD CITY OF DELHI.

On the 21st, we went on eight miles to the Kootub Meenar, across the range of sandstone hills, which rise to the height of about two hundred feet, and run north and south. The rocks are for the most part naked, but here and there the soil between them is covered with *famished* grass, and a few stunted shrubs; anything more unprepossessing can hardly be conceived than the aspect of these hills, which seem to serve no other purpose than to store up heat for the people of the great city of Delhi. We passed through a cut in this range of hills, made apparently by the stream of the river Jumna at some remote period, and about one hundred yards wide at the entrance. This cut is crossed by an enormous stone wall, running north and south, and intended to shut in the waters, and form a lake in the opening beyond it. Along the brow of the precipice, overlooking the northern end of the wall, is the stupen-

dous fort of *Tughluckabad*, built by the Emperor Tughluck the 1st, of the sandstones of the range of hills on which it stands, cut into enormous square blocks. On the brow of the opposite side of the precipice, overlooking the southern end of the wall, stands the fort of Mohumdabad, built by this Emperor's son and successor, Mahomed, and resembling in all things that built by his father. These fortresses overlooked the lake, with the old city of Delhi spread out on the opposite side of it to the west. There is a third fortress upon an isolated hill, east of the great barrier wall, said to have been built in honour of his master by the Emperor Tughluck's *barber*. The Emperor's tomb stands upon an isolated rock in the middle of the once lake, now plain, about a mile to the west of the barrier wall. The rock is connected with the western extremity of the northern fortress, by a causeway of twenty-five arches, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. This is a fine tomb, and contains in a square centre room the remains of the Emperor Tughluck, his wife, and his son. The tomb is built of red sandstone, and surmounted by a dome of white marble. The three graves inside are built of brick, covered with stucco work.

The outer sides of the tomb slope slightly inwards from the base, in the form of a pyramid; but the inner walls are of course perpendicular. The impression left on the mind after going over the ruins of these stupendous fortifications is, that the



arts which contribute to the comforts and elegancies of life, must have been in a very rude state when they were raised. Domestic architecture must have been wretched in the extreme. The buildings are all of stone, and almost all without cement, and seem to have been raised by giants, and for giants whose arms were against everybody and everybody's arm against them. This was indeed the state of the Patan sovereigns in India—they were the creatures of their armies; and their armies were always employed against the people, who feared and detested them all.

The Emperor Tughluck, on his return at the head of the army, which he had led into Bengal to chastise some rebellious subjects, was met at Afghanpore by his eldest son Jonah, whom he had left in the government of the capital. The prince had in three days raised here a palace of wood for a grand entertainment to do honour to his father's return; and when the Emperor signified his wish to retire, all the courtiers rushed out before him to be in attendance, and among the rest, Jonah himself. Five attendants only remained when the Emperor rose from his seat; and at that moment the building fell in and crushed them and their master! Jonah had been sent at the head of an army into the Deccan where he collected immense wealth from the plunder of the palaces of princes and the temples of their priests, the only places in which much wealth was to be found in those days. This wealth he

tried to conceal from his father, whose death he probably thus contrived, that he might the sooner have the free enjoyment of it with unlimited power. Only thirty years before, Allaooddeen, returning in the same manner at the head of an army from the Deccan loaded with wealth, murdered the Emperor Feroze the 2nd, the father of his wife, and ascended the throne. Jonah ascended the throne under the name of Mahomed the 3rd; and after the remains of his father had been deposited in the tomb I have described, he passed in great pomp and splendour from the fortress of Tughluckabad, which his father had just then completed, to the city in which the Meenar stands, with elephants before and behind loaded with gold and silver coins, which were scattered among the crowd, who everywhere hailed him with shouts of joy! The roads were covered with flowers, the houses adorned with the richest stuffs, and the streets resounded with music!

He was a man of great learning, and a great patron of learned men; he was a great founder of churches, had prayers read in them all at the prescribed times, and always went to prayers five times a day himself.*

* A Mahomedan must, if he can, say his prayers with the prescribed forms five times in the twenty-four hours; and on Friday, which is their sabbath, he must, if he can, say these prayers in the church-musjid. On other days he may say them where he pleases. Every prayer must begin with the first chapter of the Koran—this is the grace to every prayer. This said, the person may put in what other prayers of the Koran he pleases,

He was rigidly temperate himself in his habits, and discouraged all intemperance in others. These things secured him panegyrists throughout the empire during the twenty-seven years that he reigned over it; though perhaps he was the most detestable tyrant that ever filled a throne. He would take his armies out over the most populous and peaceful districts, and hunt down the innocent and unoffending people like wild beasts, and bring home their heads by thousands to hang them on the city gates for his mere amusement! He twice made the whole people of the city of Delhi emigrate with him to Dowlutabad, in southern India, which he wished to make the capital, from some foolish fancy; and during the whole of his reign, gave evident signs of being in an unsound state of mind!

There was, at the time of his father's death, a saint at Delhi, named Nizamoodeen Ouleea, or the saint, who was supposed by supernatural means to have driven from Delhi, one night in a panic, a large army of Moguls under Turmachurn, who invaded India from Transoxiana, in 1303, and laid close siege to the city of Delhi, in which the Emperor Allaooddeen

and ask for that which he most wants as long as it does not injure other Mussulmans. This is the first chapter of the Koran: "Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures—the most merciful—the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship; and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way—in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

was shut up without troops to defend himself, his armies being engaged in southern India. It is very likely that he did strike this army with a panic by getting some of their leaders assassinated in one night. He was supposed to have the "*dust ol ghyb*," or *supernatural purse*; as his private expenditure is said to have been more lavish even than that of the Emperor himself, while he had no ostensible source of income whatever. The Emperor was either jealous of his influence and display, or suspected him of dark crimes, and threatened to humble him when he returned to Delhi. As he approached the city, the friends of the saint, knowing the resolute spirit of the Emperor, urged him to quit the capital, as he had been often heard to say, "Let me but reach Delhi, and this proud priest shall be humbled!" The only reply that the saint would ever deign to give from the time the imperial army left Bengal, till it was within one stage of the capital, was "Delhi door ust." Delhi is still far off! This is now become a proverb over the east, equivalent to our, "there is many a slip between the cup and the lip." It is probable, that the saint had some understanding with the son in his plans for the murder of his father; it is possible, that his numerous wandering disciples may in reality have been murderers and robbers; and that he could at any time have procured through them the assassination of the Emperor. The Mahomedan Thugs, or assassins of India, certainly looked upon him as one of the great founders

of their system; and used to make pilgrimages to his tomb as such; and as he came originally from Persia, and is considered by his greatest admirers to have been in his youth a robber, it is not altogether impossible that he may have been originally one of the assassins or disciples of the "old man of the mountains;" and that he may have set up the system of Thuggee in India, and derived a great portion of his income from it. Emperors now prostrate themselves and aspire to have their bones placed near it. While wandering about the ruins, I remarked to one of the learned men of the place who attended us, that it was singular Tughluck's buildings should be so rude compared with those of Yulteemush, who had reigned more than eighty years before him. "Not at all singular," said he; "was he not under the curse of the holy saint Nizamoodeen?" "And what had the Emperor done to incur the holy man's curse?" "He had taken by force to employ upon his palaces, several of the masons whom the *holy man* was employing upon a *church*," said he.

The Kootub Meenar was, I think, more beyond my expectations than the Tâj; first, because I had heard less of it; and secondly, because it stands as it were alone in India—there is absolutely no other tower in this Indian empire of ours. Large pillars have been cut out of single stones, and raised in different parts of India to commemorate the conquests of Hindoo princes, whose names no one was able to discover for several centuries, till an un-

pretending English gentleman of surprising talents and industry, Mr. James Prinsep, lately brought them to light by mastering the obsolete characters in which they and their deeds had been inscribed upon them. These pillars would, however, be utterly insignificant were they composed of many stones. The knowledge that they are cut out of single stones, brought from a distant mountain, and raised by the united efforts of multitudes when the mechanical arts were in a rude state, makes us still view them with admiration. But the single majesty of this Meenar of Kootubooddeen, so grandly conceived, so beautifully proportioned, so chastely embellished, and so exquisitely finished, fills the mind of the spectator with emotions of wonder and delight; without any such aid, he feels that it is among the towers of the earth, what the Taj is among the tombs—something unique of its kind that must ever stand alone in his recollections.

It is said to have taken forty-four years in building, and formed the left of two Meenars of a mosque. The other Meenar was never raised, but this has been preserved and repaired by the liberality of the British government. It is only two hundred and forty-two feet high, and one hundred and six feet in circumference at the base. It is circular, and fluted vertically into twenty-seven semicircular and angular divisions. There are four balconies supported upon large stone brackets, and surrounded with battlements of richly cut stone, to enable people to walk

round the tower with safety. The first is ninety feet from the base, the second fifty feet further up, the third forty feet further; and the fourth twenty-four feet above the third. Up to the third balcony, the tower is built of fine but somewhat ferruginous sandstone, whose surface has become red from exposure to the oxygen of the atmosphere. Up to the first balcony, the flutings are alternately semicircular and angular: in the second story they are all semicircular, and in the third all angular. From the third balcony to the top, the building is composed chiefly of white marble; and the surface is without the deep flutings. Around the first story there are five horizontal belts of passages from the Koran, engraved in bold relief, and in the Kufic character. In the second story there are four, and in the third three. The ascent is by a spiral staircase within, of three hundred and eighty steps; and there are passages from this staircase to the balconies, with others here and there for the admission of light and air.

A foolish notion has prevailed among some people, overfond of paradox, that this tower is in reality a Hindoo building, and not, as commonly supposed, a Mahomedan one. Never was paradox supported upon more frail, I might say, absurd foundations. They are these—1st, that there is only one Meenar, whereas there ought to have been two—had the unfinished one been intended as the second, it would not have been, as it really is, larger than the first;

2nd, that other Meenars seen in the present day either do not slope inward, from the base up, at all, or do not slope so much as this. I tried to trace the origin of this paradox, and I think I found it in a silly old Moonshee in the service of the Emperor. He told me that he believed it was built by a former Hindoo prince for his daughter, who wished to worship the rising sun, and view the waters of the Jumna from the top of it every morning.

There is no other Hindoo building in India at all like, or of the same kind as this; the ribbons or belts of passages from the Koran are all in relief, and had they not been originally inserted as they are, the whole surface of the building must have been cut down to throw them out in bold relief. The slope is the peculiar characteristic of all the architecture of the Pythans, by whom the church to which this tower belongs was built. Nearly all the arches of the church are still standing in a more or less perfect state, and all correspond in design, proportion, and execution, to the tower. The ruins of the old Hindoo temples about the place, and about every other place in India, are totally different in all three; here they are all exceedingly paltry and insignificant, compared with the church and its tower, and it is evident, that it was the intention of the founder to make them appear so to future generations of the faithful, for he has taken care to make his own great work support rather than destroy them, that they might for ever tend to enhance its grandeur.

It is sufficiently clear that the unfinished Meenar was commenced first, upon too large a scale, and with too small a diminution of the circumference from the base upwards. It is two-fifths larger than the finished tower in circumference, and much more perpendicular. Finding these errors when they had got some thirty feet from the foundation, the founder, Shumshoodeen, began the work anew, and had he lived a little longer, there is no doubt that he would have raised the second tower in its proper place, upon the same scale as the one completed. His death was followed by several successive revolutions; five sovereigns succeeded each other on the throne of Delhi in ten years. As usual on such occasions, works of peace were suspended; and succeeding sovereigns sought renown in military enterprises rather than in building churches. This church was entire, with the exception of the second Meenar, when Tamerlane invaded India. He took back a model of it with him to Samarcund, together with all the masons he could find at Delhi, and is said to have built a church upon the same plan at that place, before he set out for the invasion of Syria.

The west face of the quadrangle, in which the tower stands, formed the church, which consisted of eleven large arched alcoves, the centre and largest of which contained the pulpit. In size and beauty they seem to have corresponded with the Meenar; but they are now all in ruins. In the front of the centre of these alcoves stands the metal pillar of the

old Hindoo sovereign of Delhi, Prethee Raj, across whose temple all the great mosque, of which this tower forms a part, was thrown in triumph. The ruins of these temples lie scattered all round the place; and consist of colonnades of stone pillars and pedestals, richly enough carved with human figures, in attitudes rudely and obscenely conceived. The small pillar is of bronze, or a metal which resembles bronze, and is softer than brass, and of the same form precisely as that of the stone pillar at Erun, on the Beena river in Malwa, upon which stands the figure of Krishna, with the glory around his head. It is said that this metal pillar was put down through the earth, so as to rest upon the very head of the snake that supports the world; and that the sovereign who made it, and fixed it upon so *firm a basis*, was told by his spiritual advisers, that his dynasty should last as long as the pillar remained where it was. Anxious to see that the pillar was really where the priests supposed it to be, that his posterity might be quite sure of their position, Prethee Raj had it taken up, and he found the blood and some of the flesh of the snake's head adhering to the bottom. By this means the charm was broken, and the priests told him that he had destroyed all the hopes of his house by his want of *faith* in their assurances. I have never met a Hindoo that doubted either that the pillar was really upon this snake's head, or that the King lost his crown by his want of *faith* in the assurance of

his priests! They all believe that the pillar is still stuck into the head of the great snake, and that no human efforts of the present day could remove it. On my way back to my tents, I asked the old Hindoo officer of my guard, who had gone with me to see the metal pillar, "What he thought of the story of the pillar?"

"What the people relate about this *Khillee* (pillar) having been stuck into the head of the snake that supports the world, sir, is nothing more than a simple *historical fact* known to everybody. Is it not so, my brothers?" said he, turning to the Hindoo sepahees and followers around us, who all declared that no fact could ever be better established!

"When the Rajah," continued the old soldier, "had got the pillar fast into the head of the snake, he was told by his chief priest that his dynasty must now reign over Hindoostan for ever. 'But,' said the Rajah, 'as all seems to depend upon the pillar being on the head of the snake, we had better see that it is so with our own eyes.' He ordered it to be taken up; the clergy tried to dissuade him, but all in vain. Up it was taken—the flesh and the blood of the snake were found upon it—the pillar was replaced; but a voice was heard saying—'Thy want of faith hath destroyed thee—thy reign must soon end, and with it that of thy race.'"

I asked the old soldier from whence the voice came.

He said this was a point that had not, he believed, been quite settled. Some thought it was from the serpent himself below the earth—others that it came from the high priest, or some of his clergy! "Wherever it came from," said the old man, "there is no doubt that God decreed the Rajah's fall for his want of *faith;* and fall he did soon after."

All our followers concurred in this opinion, and the old man seemed quite delighted to think that he had had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon so great a question before so respectable an audience.

The Emperor Shumshodeen Altumsh is said to have designed this great Mahomedan church at the suggestion of Khojah Kootubooddeen, a Mahomedan saint from Ouse, in Persia, who was his religious guide and apostle—and died some sixteen years before him. His tomb is among the ruins of this old city. Pilgrims visit it from all parts of India, and go away persuaded that they shall have all they have asked, provided they have given or promised liberally in a pure spirit of faith in his influence with the Deity. The tomb of the saint is covered with gold brocade, and protected by an awning—those of the Emperors around it lie naked and exposed. Emperors and princes in abundance lie all around him; and their tombs are entirely disregarded by the hundreds that daily prostrate themselves before his, and

have been doing so for the last six hundred years. Among the rest I saw here the tomb of Mouzzim, alias Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Ourungzebe, and that of the blind old Emperor Shah Alum, from whom the honourable Company got their Dewanee grant. The grass grows upon the slab that covers the remains of Mouzzim—the most learned, most pious, and most amiable, I believe, of the crowned descendants of the great Akbar. These kings and princes all try to get a place as near as they can to the remains of such old saints, believing that the ground is more holy than any other, and that they may give them a lift on the day of resurrection! The heir apparent to the throne of Delhi visited the tomb the same day that I did.* He was between sixty and seventy years of age. I asked some of the attendants of the tomb, on my way back, what he had come to pray for; and was told that no one knew, but every one supposed it was for the death of the Emperor, his father, who was only fifteen years older, and was busily engaged in promoting an intrigue at the instigation of one of his wives, to oust him, and get one of her sons, Mirza Saleem, acknowledged as his successor by the British government. It was the Hindoo festival of the Busunt, and all the avenues to the tomb of this old saint were crowded when I visited it. Why the Maho-

* He is now Emperor, having succeeded his father, Akbar Shah, in 1837.

medans crowded to the tomb on a Hindoo holiday I could not ascertain.

The Emperor Altumsh, who died A. D. 1235, is buried close behind one end of the arched alcove, in a beautiful tomb without its cupola. He built the tomb himself, and left orders that there should be no *purdah* (screen) between him and heaven; and no dome was thrown over the building in consequence. Other great men have done the same, and their tombs look as if their domes had fallen in; they think the way should be left clear for a start on the day of resurrection. The church is stated to have been added to it by the Emperor Baleen, and the Meenar finished. About the end of the seventeenth century it was so shaken by an earthquake, that the two upper stories fell down. Our government, when the country came into our possession, undertook to repair these two stories, and entrusted the work to Captain Smith, who built up one of stone, and the other of wood, and completed the repairs in three years. The one was struck by lightning eight or nine years after, and came down. If it was anything like the one that is left, the lightning did well to remove it. About five years ago, while the Emperor was on a visit to the tomb of Kootubooddeen, a madman got into his private apartments. The servants were ordered to turn him out. On passing the Meenar he ran in, ascended to the top, stood a few moments on the verge, laughing at those who were running after him, and made a

spring that enabled him to reach the bottom, without touching the sides. An eye-witness told me that he kept his erect position till about half-way down, when he turned over, and continued to turn till he got to the bottom, where his fall made a report like a gun. He was of course dashed to pieces. About five months ago another fell over by accident, and was dashed to pieces against the sides. A new road has been here cut through the tomb of the Emperor Allaooddeen, who murdered his father-in-law—the first Mahomedan conqueror of southern India, and his remains have been scattered to the winds.

A very pretty marble tomb, to the west of the alcoves, covers the remains of Imam Mushudee, the religious guide of the Emperor Akbar; and a magnificent tomb of freestone covers those of one of his four foster brothers. This was long occupied as a dwelling-house by the late Mr. Blake, of the Bengal civil service, who was lately barbarously murdered at Jeypoor. To make room for his dining-tables he removed the marble slab, which covered the remains of the dead, from the centre of the building, against the urgent remonstrance of the people, and threw it carelessly on one side against the wall, where it now lies. The people appealed in vain, it is said, to Mr. Fraser, the Governor-general's representative, who was soon after assassinated; and a good many attribute the death of both to this outrage upon the remains of the dead foster-brother of Akbar. Those

of Allaoodeen were, no doubt, older and less sensitive. Tombs equally magnificent cover the remains of the other three foster-brothers of Akbar, but I did not enter them.

CHAPTER XX.

NEW DELHI, OR SHAHJEHANABAD.

On the 22nd of January, 1836, we went on twelve miles to the new city Delhi, built by the Emperor Shah Jehan, and called after him Shahjehanabad; and took up our quarters in the palace of the Begum Sumroo, a fine building, agreeably situated in a garden opening into the great street, with a branch of the great canal running through it, and as quiet as if it had been in a wilderness. We had obtained from the Begum permission to occupy this palace during our stay. It was elegantly furnished, the servants were all exceedingly attentive, and we were very happy.

The Kootub Meenar stands upon the back of the sandstone range of low hills, and the road descends over the north-eastern face of this range for half a mile, and then passes over a level plain all the way to the new city, which lies on the right bank of the

river Jumna. The whole plain is literally covered with the remains of splendid Mahomedan mosques and mausoleums. These Mahomedans seem as if they had always in their thoughts the saying of Christ, which Akbar has inscribed on the gateway at Futtehpore Secree, "Life is a bridge which you are to pass over, and not to build your dwellings upon." The buildings which they have left behind them have almost all a reference to a future state—they laid out their means in a church, in which the Deity might be propitiated; in a tomb where learned and pious men might chant their Koran over their remains, and youth be instructed in their duties; in a saraes, a bridge, a canal built gratuitously for the public good, that those who enjoyed their advantages from generation to generation might pray for the repose of their souls. How could it be otherwise, where the land was the property of government, where capital was never concentrated or safe, where the only aristocracy was that of office, while the Emperor was the sole recognised heir of all his public officers. The only things that he could not inherit, were his tombs, his temples, his bridges, his canals, and his caravansaries. I was acquainted with the history of most of the great men whose tombs and temples I visited along the road; but I asked in vain for a sight of the palaces they occupied in their day of pride and power. They all had, no doubt, good houses agreeably situated, like that of the Begum Sumroo, in the midst of well-watered

gardens and shrubberies, delightful in their season; but they cared less about them—they knew that the Emperor was heir to every member of the great body to which they belonged, the *aristocracy of office;* and might transfer all their wealth to his treasury, and all their palaces to his successors, the moment the breath should be out of their bodies. If their sons got office, it would neither be in the same grades, nor in the same places as those of their fathers.

How different it is in Europe where our aristocracy is formed upon a different basis; no one knows where to find the tombs in which the remains of great men who have passed away, repose; or the churches and colleges they have founded; or the saraes, the bridges, the canals they formed gratuitously for the public good; but everybody knows where to find their "proud palaces"—"life is not to them a bridge over which they are to pass, and not build their dwellings upon!" The eldest sons enjoy all the patrimonial estates; and employ them as best they may to get their younger brothers into situations in the church, the army, the navy, and other public establishments, in which they may be honourably and liberally provided for out of the public purse.

About half way between the great tower and the new city, on the left-hand side of the road, stands the tomb of Munsoor Ally Khan, the great grandfather of the present King of Oude. Of all the tombs to

be seen in this immense extent of splendid ruins, this is perhaps the only one raised over a subject, the family of whose inmates are now in a condition even to keep it in repair. It is a very beautiful mausoleum, built after the model of the Taj at Agra; with this difference, that the external wall around the quadrangle of the Taj is here, as it were, thrown back, and closed in upon the tomb. The beautiful gateway at the entrance of the gardens of the Taj forms each of the four sides of the tomb of Munsoor Ally Khan, with all its chaste beauty of design, proportion, and ornament. The quadrangle in which this mausoleum stands is about three hundred and fifty yards square, surrounded by a stone wall, with handsome gateways, and filled in the same manner as that of the Taj at Agra, with cisterns and fruit-trees. Three kinds of stones are used,—white marble, red sandstone, and the fine white and flesh-coloured sandstone of Roopbas. The dome is of white marble, and exactly of the same form as that of the Taj; but it stands on a neck or base of sandstone, with twelve sides, and the white marble is of a quality very inferior to that of the Taj. It is of coarse dolomite, and has become a good deal discoloured by time, so as to give it the appearance which Bishop Heber noticed, of *potted meat.* The neck is not quite so long as that of the Taj, and is better covered by the marble cupolas that stand above each face of the building. The four noble minarets are however wanting. The apartments are all in

number and form exactly like those of the Taj, but they are somewhat less in size. In the centre of the first floor lies the beautiful marble slab that bears the date of this small *pillar of a tottering state*, A. D. 1167; and in a vault underneath, repose his remains, by the side of those of one of his grand-daughters. The graves that cover these remains are of plain earth, strewed with fresh flowers, and covered with plain cloth. About two miles from this tomb to the east stands that of the father of Akbar, Hoomaeeoon, a large and magnificent building. As I rode towards this building to see the slab that covers the head of poor Dara Shekoh, I frequently cast a lingering look behind, to view, as often as I could, this very pretty imitation of the most beautiful of all the tombs of the earth.

On my way I turned in to see the tomb of the celebrated saint, Nizamoodeen Ouleea, the defeater of the Transoxianian army under Turmachurn, in 1303, to which pilgrimages are still made from all parts of India.* It is a small building, surmounted by a white marble dome, and kept very clean and neat. By its side is that of the poet Khusroo, his contemporary and friend, who moved about where he pleased through the palace of the Emperor

* Nizamoodeen was the disciple of Furreedoodeen Gunj Shukur, so called from his look being sufficient to convert *clods of earth into lumps of sugar*. Furreed was the disciple of Kootubooddeen, of old Delhi, who was the disciple of Moenoodeen, of Ajmere—the greatest of all their saints.

Tughluck Shah the First, five hundred years ago, and sang, extempore, to his lyre, while the greatest and the fairest watched his lips to catch the expressions as they came warm from his soul. His popular songs are still the most popular; and he is one of the favoured few who live through ages in the every-day thoughts and feelings of many millions, while the crowned heads that patronized them in their brief day of pomp and power are forgotten, or remembered merely as they happened to be connected with them. His tomb has also a dome, and the grave is covered with rich brocade, and attended with as much reverence and devotion as that of the great saint himself, while those of the emperors, kings, and princes, that have been crowded around them, are entirely disregarded. A number of people are employed to read the Koran over the grave of the old saint, who died A. H. 725, and are paid by contributions from the present Emperor, and the members of his family, who occasionally come in their hour of need, to entreat his intercession with the Deity in their favour, and by the humble pilgrims who flock from all parts for the same purpose. A great many boys are here educated by these readers of their sacred volume. All my attendants bowed their heads to the dust before the shrine of the saint, but they seemed especially indifferent to those of the royal family, which are all open to the sky. Respect shown or neglected towards them could bring neither good nor evil; while any slight to the

tomb of the *crusty old saint* might be of serious consequence!

In an enclosure formed by marble screens, beautifully carved, is the tomb of the favourite son of the present Emperor, Mirza Juhangeer, whom I knew intimately at Allahabad, in 1816, when he was killing himself as fast as he could with Hoffman's cherry brandy. "This," he would say to me, "is really the only liquor that you Englishmen have worth drinking; and its only fault is that it makes one drunk too soon!" To prolong his pleasure, he used to limit himself to one large glass every hour, till he got dead drunk. Two or three sets of dancing women and musicians used to relieve each other in amusing him during this interval. He died of course soon, and the poor old Emperor was persuaded by his mother, the favourite sultana, that he had fallen a victim to *sighing* and grief at the treatment of the English, who would not permit him to remain at Delhi, where he was continually employed in attempts to assassinate his eldest brother, the heir apparent, and to stir up insurrections among the people. He was not in confinement at Allahabad, but merely prohibited from returning to Delhi. He had a splendid dwelling, a good income, and all the honours due to his rank.

In another enclosure of the same kind, are the Emperor Mahomed Shah—who reigned when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi—his mother, wife, and daughter; and in another, close by, is the tomb which interested

me most—that of Jehanara Begum, the favourite sister of poor Dara Shekoh, and daughter of Shah Jehan. It stands in the same enclosure, with the brother of the present Emperor on one side, and his daughter on the other. Her remains are covered with a marble slab hollow at the top, and exposed to the sky—the hollow is filled with earth covered with green grass. Upon her tomb is the following inscription, the three first lines of which are said to have been written by herself.

" Let no rich canopy cover my grave. This grass is the best covering for the tombs of the poor in spirit. The humble, the transitory Jehanara, the disciple of the holy men of Christ, the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan."

I went over the magnificent tomb of Hoomaeeoon, which was raised over his remains by his son the Emperor Akbar. It stands in the centre of a quadrangle of about four hundred yards square, with a cloistered wall all round; but I must not describe any more tombs. Here, under a marble slab, lies the head of poor Dara Shekoh, who but for a little infirmity of temper had, perhaps, changed the destinies of India, by changing the character of education among the aristocracy of the countries under his rule, and preventing the birth of the Mahratta powers, by leaving untouched the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, upon whose ruins, under his bigoted brother, the former rose. Secular and religious education were always inseparably combined among

the Mahomedans, and invited to India from Persia by the public offices, civil and military, which men of education and courtly manners could alone obtain. These offices had long been filled exclusively by such men, who flocked in crowds to India from Khorassan and Persia. Every man qualified by secular instruction to make his way at court, and fill such offices, was disposed by his religious instruction to assert the supremacy of his creed, and to exclude the followers of every other from the employments over which he had any control. The aristocracy of office was the ocean to which this stream of Mahomedan education flowed from the west, and spread all over India; and had Dara subdued his brothers, and ascended the throne, he would probably have arrested the flood by closing the public offices against these Persian adventurers, and filling them with Christians and Hindoos. This would have changed the character of the aristocracy and the education of the people.

While looking upon the slab under which his head reposes, I thought of the slight "accidents by flood and field," the still slighter thought of the brain and feeling of the heart, on which the destinies of nations and of empires often depend—on the discovery of the great diamond in the mines of Golconda—on the accident which gave it into the hands of an ambitious Persian adventurer—on the thought which suggested the advantage of presenting it to Shah Jehan—on the feeling which made Dara get

off, and Ourungzebe sit on his elephant at the battle of Sureenuggur, on which depended the fate of India, and perhaps the advancement of the Christian religion and European literature and science over India. But for the accident which gave Charles Martel the victory over the Saracens at Tours, Arabic and Persian had perhaps been the classical languages, and Islamism the religion of Europe; and where we have cathedrals and colleges we might have had mosques and mausoleums, and America and the Cape, the compass and the press, the steam-engine, the telescope, and the Copernican system, might have remained still undiscovered; and but for the accident which turned Hannibal's face from Rome after the battle of Cannæ, or that which intercepted his brother Asdrubal's letter, we might now all be speaking the languages of Tyre and Sidon, and roasting our own children in offerings to Sewa or Saturn, instead of saving those of the Hindoos! Poor Dara! but for thy little jealousy of thy father and thy son, thy desire to do all the work without their aid, and those occasional ebullitions of passion which alienated from thee the most powerful of the Hindoo princes, whom it was so much thy wish and thy interest to cherish, thy generous heart and enlightened mind had reigned over this vast empire, and made it, perchance, the garden it deserves to be made.

I visited the celebrated mosque known by the name of Jumna Musjid, a fine building raised by Shah

Jehan, and finished in six years, A..H 1060, at a cost of ten lacks of rupees, or one hundred thousand pounds. Money campared to man's labour and subsistence is still four times more valuable in India than in England; and a similar building in England would cost at least four hundred thousand pounds. It is like all the buildings raised by this Emperor, in the best taste and style. I was attended by three very well dressed and modest Hindoos, and a Mahomedan servant of the Emperor. My attention was so much taken up with the edifice, that I did not perceive till I was about to return, that the door-keepers had stopped my three Hindoos. I found that they had offered to leave their shoes behind, and submit to anything to be permitted to follow me; but the porters had, they said, strict orders to admit no *worshippers of idols*; for their master was a *man of the book*, and had therefore got a little of the *truth* in him, though unhappily not much, since his heart had not been opened to that of the Koran. Nuthoo could have told him, that he also had a *book*, which he and some fourscore millions more thought as good as his or better; but he was afraid to descant upon the merits of his shasters, and the miracles of Kishen Jee, among such fierce cut-throat looking people; he looked, however, as if he could have eaten the porter, Koran and all, when I came to their rescue. The only volumes which Mahomedans designate by the name of the *book*, are the old and new Testament, and the Koran.

I visited also the palace, which was built by the same Emperor. It stands on the right bank of the Jumna, and occupies a quadrangle surrounded by a high wall built of red sandstone, about one mile in circumference; one side looks down into the clear stream of the Jumna, while the others are surrounded by the streets of the city. The entrance is by a noble gateway to the west; and facing this gateway on the inside, a hundred and twenty yards distant, is the Dewani Aam, or the common hall of audience. This is a large hall, the roof of which is supported upon four colonnades of pillars of red sandstone, now whitewashed, but once covered over with stucco work and gilded. On one of these pillars is shown the mark of the dagger of a Hindoo prince of Chittore, who, in the presence of the Emperor, stabbed to the heart one of the Mahomedan ministers who made use of some disrespectful language towards him. On being asked, how he presumed to do this in the presence of his sovereign, he answered in the very words almost of Rhoderic Dhu,

> "I right my wrongs where they are given,
> Though it were in the court of Heaven!"

The throne projects into the hall from the back, in front of the large central arch; it is raised ten feet above the floor, and is about ten wide, and covered by a marble canopy supported upon four marble pillars, all beautifully inlaid with mosaic work exquisitely finished, but now much dilapidated. The room, or recess, in which the throne stands, is open

to the front, and about fifteen feet wide, and six deep. There is a door at the back, by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments, and one on his left, from which his prime minister or chief officer of state approached the throne by a flight of steps leading into the hall. In front of the throne, and raised some three feet above the floor, is a fine large slab of white marble, on which one of the secretaries stood during the hours of audience, to hand up to the throne any petitions that were presented, and to receive and convey commands. As the people approached over the intervening one hundred and twenty yards, between the gateway and the hall of audience, they were made to bow down lower and lower to the figure of the Emperor, as he sat upon his throne without deigning to show, by any motion of limb or muscle, that he was really made of flesh and blood, and not cut out of the marble he sat upon!

The marble walls on three sides of this recess are inlaid with precious stones, representing some of the most beautiful birds and flowers of India, according to the boundaries of the country when Shah Jehan built this palace, which included Cabool and Cashmere, afterwards severed from it on the invasion of Nadir Shah. On the upper part of the back wall is represented, in the same precious stones, and in a graceful attitude, an European in a kind of Spanish costume, playing upon his guitar, and in the character of Orpheus, charming the birds and beasts which he first

taught the people of India so well to represent in this manner. This I have no doubt was intended by Austin de Bardeux for himself. The man from Sheraz, Amanut Khan, who designed all the noble Tagra characters in which the passages from the Koran are inscribed upon different parts of the Tâj at Agra, was permitted to place his own name in the same bold characters on the right hand side as we enter the tomb of the Emperor and his queen. It is inscribed after the date thus:—A. H. 1048, "The humble Faqueer Amanut Khan of Sheraz." Austin was a still greater favourite than Amanut Khan; and the Emperor Shah Jehan, no doubt, readily acceded to his wishes to have himself represented in what appeared to him and his courtiers so beautiful a picture.

The Dewani Khas, or hall of private audience, is a much more splendid building than the other, from its richer materials, being all built of white marble beautifully ornamented. The roof is supported upon colonnades of marble pillars. The throne stands in the centre of this hall, and is ascended by steps, and covered by a canopy, with four artificial peacocks on the four corners. Here, thought I, as I entered this apartment, sat Ourungzebe when he ordered the assassination of his brothers Dara and Moorad, and the imprisonment and destruction by slow poison of his son Mahomed, who had so often fought bravely by his side in battle. Here also, but a few months before, sat the great Shah Jehan, to receive the in-

solent commands of this same grandson, Mahomed, when flushed with victory; and to offer him the throne, merely to disappoint the hopes of the youth's father, Ourungzebe. Here stood in chains the graceful Sooleeman, to receive his sentence of death by slow poison with his poor young brother, Sipeher Shekoh, who had shared all his father's toils and dangers, and witnessed his brutal murder! Here sat Mahomed Shah, bandying compliments with his ferocious conqueror, Nadir Shah, who had destroyed his armies, plundered his treasury, stripped his throne, and ordered the murder of a hundred thousand of the helpless inhabitants of his capital, men, women, and children, in a general massacre. The bodies of these people lay in the streets tainting the air, while the two sovereigns sat here sipping their coffee, and swearing to the most deliberate lies in the name of their God, prophet, and Koran;—all are now dust; that of the oppressor undistinguishable from that of the oppressed.* Within this apartment and over the

* It is related that the coffee was delivered to the two sovereigns in this room upon a gold salver, by the most polished gentleman of the court. His motions, as he entered the gorgeous apartment, amidst the splendid trains of the two Emperors, were watched with great anxiety; if he presented the coffee first to his own master, the furious conqueror, before whom the sovereign of India and all his courtiers trembled, might order him to instant execution; if he presented it to Nadir first, he would insult his own sovereign out of fear of the stranger. To the astonishment of all, he walked up with a steady step direct to his own master. "I cannot," said he, "aspire to the honour of presenting the

side arches at one end, is inscribed in black letters the celebrated couplet, "If there be a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this—it is this—it is this." Anything more unlike paradise than this place now is, can hardly be conceived. Here are crowded together twelve hundred *kings* and *queens*, (for all the descendants of the Emperors assume the title of Sulateens, the plural of Sultans,) literally eating each other up.

Government, from motives of benevolence, has here attempted to apportion out the pension they assign to the Emperor, to the different members of his great family circle, who are to be subsisted upon it, instead of leaving it to his own discretion. This has perhaps tended to prevent the family from throwing off its useless members, to mix with the common herd; and to make the population press against the means of subsistence within these walls. Kings and queens of the house of Tymour are to be found lying about in scores, like broods of vermin, without food to eat or clothes to cover their nakedness. It has been proposed by some, to establish colleges for

cup to the king of kings, your majesty's honoured guest, nor would your majesty wish that any hand but your own should do so." The Emperor took the cup from the golden salver, and presented it to Nadir Shah, who said with a smile as he took it, "Had all your officers known and done their duty like this man, you had never, my good cousin, seen me and my Kuzul Bashus at Delhi; take care of him for your own sake, and get round you as many like him as you can."

them in the palace, to fit them by education for high offices under our government. Were this done, this pensioned family, which never can possibly feel well affected towards our government or any government but their own, would alone send out men enough to fill all the civil offices open to the natives of the country, to the exclusion of the members of the humbler but better affected families of Mahomedans and Hindoos. If they obtained the offices they would be educated for, the evil to government and to society would be very great; and if they did not get them, the evil would be great to themselves, since they would be encouraged to entertain hopes that could not be realized. Better let them shift for themselves and quietly sink among the crowd. They would only become rallying points for the dissatisfaction and multiplied sources of disaffection; everywhere doing mischief, and nowhere doing good. Let loose upon society, they everywhere disgust people by their insolence and knavery, against which we are every day required to protect the people by our interference; the prestige of their name will by degrees diminish, and they will sink by-and-by into utter insignificance. During his stay at Jubbulpore, Kambuksh, the nephew of the Emperor, whom I have already mentioned as the most sensible member of the family, did an infinite deal of good by cheating almost all the tradesmen of the town. Till he came down among them with all his ragamuffins from Delhi, men thought the Padshahs and their progeny

must be something superhuman, something not to be spoken of, much less approached without reverence; during the latter part of his stay, my court was crowded with complaints; and no one has ever since heard a scion of the house of Tymour spoken of but as a thing to be avoided—a person more prone than others to take in his neighbours. One of these *kings*, who has not more than ten shillings a month to subsist himself and family upon will, in writing to the representative of the British government, address him as "Fidwee khass," our particular slave; and be addressed in reply with, "Your majesty's commands have been received by your slave!"

I visited the college, which is in the mausoleum of Ghazeeood Deen, a fine building, with its usual accompaniment of a mosque and a college. The slab that covers the grave, and the marble screens that surround the ground that contain it, are amongst the most richly cut things that I have seen. The learned and pious Mahomedans in the institution told me in my morning visit, that there should always be a small hollow in the top of marble slabs like that on Jehanara's whenever any of them were placed over graves, in order to admit water, earth, and grass; but that, strictly speaking, no slab should be allowed to cover the grave, as it could not fail to be in the way of the dead when summoned to get up by the trumpet of Israeel on the day of the resurrection! "Earthly pride," said they, "has violated this rule; and now everybody that can afford it gets

a marble slab put over his grave. But it is not only in this that men have been falling off from the letter and spirit of the law; for we now hear drums beating and trumpets sounding even among the tombs of the saints, a thing that our forefathers would not have considered possible! In former days it was only a prophet like Moses, Jesus, or Mahomed, that was suffered to have a stone placed over his head." I asked them how it was that the people crowded to the tombs of their saints, as I saw them at that of Kohtab Shah, in old Delhi, on the Beswunt, a Hindoo festival. "It only shows," said they, "that the end of the world is approaching. Are we not divided into seventy-two sects among ourselves; all falling off into Hindooism, and every day committing greater and greater follies? these are the manifest signs long ago pointed out by wise and holy men, as indicating the approach of the *last day!*" A man might make a curious book out of the indications of the end of the world, according to the notions of different people or different individuals. The Hindoos have had many different worlds or ages; and the change from the good to the bad, or the golden to the iron age, is considered to have been indicated by a thousand curious incidents. I one day asked an old Hindoo priest, a very worthy man, what made the five heroes of the Mahabhurut, the demigod brothers of Indian story, leave the plains and bury themselves no one knew where, in the eternal snows of the Himmalah mountains? "Why, sir," said he, "there is no ques-

tion about that. Judishter, the eldest, who reigned quietly at Delhi after the long war, one day sat down to dinner with his four brothers and their single wife Dorputee, for you know, sir, they had only one among them all. The king said grace, and the covers were removed: when to their utter consternation *a full grown fly* was seen seated upon the dish of rice that stood before his majesty! Judishter rose in consternation. 'When flies begin to blow upon men's dinners,' said his majesty, 'you may be sure, my brothers, that the end of the world is near—the golden age is gone—the iron one has commenced, and we must all be off; the plains of India are no longer a fit abode for gentlemen.' Without taking one morsel of food," added the priest, "they set out, and were never after seen or heard of. They were, however, traced by manifest supernatural signs up through the valley of the Ganges to the snow tops of the Himmalah, in which they no doubt left their mortal coils." They seem to feel a singular attachment for the birthplace of their great progenitrix; for no place in the world is, I suppose, more infested by them than Delhi at present; and there a dish of rice without a fly would, in the iron, be as rare a thing as a dish with one in the golden age.

Mahomedans in India sigh for the restoration of the old Mahomedan regime, not from any particular attachment to the descendants of Tymour, but with precisely the same feelings that Whigs and Tories sigh for the return to power of their respective

parties in England; it would give them all the offices in a country where office is everything. Among them, as among ourselves, every man is disposed to rate his own abilities highly, and to have a good deal of confidence in his own good luck; and all think, that if the field were once opened to them by such a change, they should very soon be able to find good positions for themselves and their children in it. Perhaps there are few communities in the world, among whom education is more generally diffused than among Mahomedans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month, commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a prime minister. They learn, through the medium of the Arabic and Persian languages, what young men in our colleges learn through those of the Greek and Latin—that is, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Mahomedan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these three branches of knowledge, as the young man raw from Oxford—he will talk as fluently about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna, *alias* Socrate, Aristotalees, Aflaton, Bocrate, Jaleenoos, and Booalee Sehna; and what is much to his advantage in India, the languages in which he has learnt what he knows are those which he most requires through life. He therefore thinks himself as well fitted to fill the high offices which are now filled exclusively by Europeans, and naturally enough wishes the establishments of

that power would open them to him. On the faculties and operations of the human mind on man's passions and affections, and his duties in all relations of life, the works of Imam Mahomed Ghuzallee and Nirseerooddeen Jansee, hardly yield to those of Plato and Aristotle, or to those of any other authors who have ever written on the same subjects in any country. These works, the Aheaololoom, epitomised into the Keemeeai Saadul, and the Akhlaki Naseree, with the didactic poems of Sadee, are the great "Pierian spring" of moral instruction, from which the Mahomedan delights to "drink deep" from infancy to old age, and a better spring it would be difficult to find in the works of any other three men.

It is not only the desire for office that makes the educated Mahomedans cherish the recollection of the old regime in Hindoostan; they say, "We pray every night for the Emperor and his family, because our forefathers ate of the salt of his forefathers"—that is, our ancestors were in the service of his ancestors; and, consequently, were of the *aristocracy* of the country. Whether they really were so matters not; they persuade themselves or their children that they were. This is a very common and a very innocent sort of vanity. We often find Englishmen in India, and I suppose in all the rest of our foreign settlements, sporting high Tory opinions and feelings, merely with a view to have it supposed, that their families are, or at some time were, among the *aris-*

tocracy of the land. To express a wish for Conservative predominance, is the same thing with them, as to express a wish for the promotion in the army, navy, or church, of some of their near relations; and thus to indicate, that they are among the privileged class whose wishes the Tories would be obliged to consult were they in power.

Man is indeed "fearfully and wonderfully made;" to be fitted himself for action in the world, or for directing ably the actions of others, it is indispensably necessary, that he should mix freely from his youth up with his fellow men. I have elsewhere mentioned, that the state of imbecility to which a man of naturally average powers of intellect may be reduced when brought up with his mother in the seraglio, is inconceivable to those who have not had opportunities of observing it. The poor old Emperor of Delhi, to whom so many millions look up, is an instance. A more venerable looking man it is difficult to conceive; and had he been educated and brought up with his fellow men, he would no doubt have had a mind worthy of his person. As it is, he has never been anything but a baby. Rajah Jewun Ram, an excellent portrait-painter, and a very honest and agreeable person, was lately employed to take the Emperor's portrait. After the first few sittings, the picture was taken into the seraglio to the ladies. The next time he came, the Emperor requested him to remove the great *blotch from under the nose*. "May it please your majesty, it is im-

possible to draw any person without *a shadow;* and I hope many millions will long continue to repose under that of your majesty." "True, Rajah," said his majesty, "men must have shadows; but there is surely no necessity for placing them immediately under their noses! The ladies will not allow mine to be put there; they say it looks as if I had been taking snuff all my life; and it certainly has a most filthy appearance; besides, it is all awry, as I told you when you began upon it!" The Rajah was obliged to remove from under the imperial, and certainly very noble nose, the shadow which he had thought worth all the rest of the picture. Queen Elizabeth is said, by an edict, to have commanded all artists who should paint her likeness, "to place her in a garden with a full light upon her, and the painter to put *any shadow* in her face at his peril!" The next time the Rajah came, the Emperor took the opportunity of consulting him upon a subject that had given him a good deal of anxiety for many months,—the dismissal of one of his personal servants who had become negligent and disrespectful. He first took care that no one should be within hearing, and then whispered in the artist's ear, that he wished to dismiss this man. The Rajah said carelessly, as he looked from the imperial head to the canvass, "Why does your majesty not discharge the man if he displeases you?" "Why do I not discharge him! I wish to do so, of course, and have wished to do so for many months; but *kooch tudbeer chaheea,*

some plan of operations must be devised." "If your majesty dislikes the man, you have only to order him outside the gates of the palace, and you are relieved from his presence at once." "True, man, I am relieved from his presence, but his enchantments may still reach me; it is them that I most dread—he keeps me in a continual state of alarm; and I would give anything to get him away in good humour!"

When the Rajah returned to Meerut, he received a visit from one of the Emperor's sons or nephews, who wanted to see the place. His tents were pitched upon the plain not far from the theatre; he arrived in the evening, and there happened to be a play that night. Several times during the night he got a message from the prince to say, that the ground near his tents were haunted by all manner of devils. The Rajah sent to assure him, that this could not possibly be the case. At last a man came about midnight, to say that the prince could stand it no longer, and had given orders to prepare for his immediate return to Delhi; for the devils were increasing so rapidly, that they must all be inevitably devoured before daybreak if they remained. The Rajah now went to the prince's camp, where he found him and his followers in a state of utter consternation, looking towards the theatre. The last carriages were leaving the theatre, and going across the plain; and these silly people had taken them all for devils!

The present pensioned imperial family of Delhi

are commonly considered to be of the house of Tymour Lung, (the lame,) because Babur, the real founder of the dynasty, was descended from him in the seventh stage. Tymour merely made a predatory inroad into India, to kill a few million of *unbelievers*, plunder the country of all the moveable valuables he and his soldiers could collect; and take back into slavery all the best artificers of all kinds that they could lay their hands upon. He left no one to represent him in India; he claimed no sovereignty, and founded no dynasty there. There is no doubt much in the prestige of a name; and though six generations had passed away, the people of northern India still trembled at that of the lame monster. Babur wished to impress upon the minds of the people the notion, that he had at his back, the same army of demons that Tymour commanded; and he boasted his descent from him for the same motive that Alexander boasted his, from the horned and cloven-footed god of the Egyptian desert, as something to sanctify all enterprizes, justify the use of all means, and carry before him the belief in his invincibility!

Babur was an admirable chief—a fit founder of a great dynasty—a very proper object for the imaginations of future generations to dwell upon, though not quite so good as his grandson, the great Akbar. Tymour was a ferocious monster, who knew how to organize and command the set of demons who composed his army, and how best to direct them for the destruc-

tion of the civilized portion of mankind and their works; but who knew nothing else. In his invasion of India, he caused the people of the towns and villages through which he passed, to be all massacred without regard to religion, age, or sex. If the soldiers in the town resisted, the people were all murdered, because they did so; if they did not, the people were considered to have forfeited their lives to their conqueror for being conquered; and told to purchase them by the surrender of all their property, the value of which was estimated by commissaries appointed for the purpose. The price was always more than they could pay; and after torturing a certain number to death in the attempt to screw the sum out of them, the troops were let in to murder the rest; so that no city, town, or village escaped; and the very grain collected for the army over and above what they could consume at any stage, was burned, lest it might relieve some hungry infidel of the country who had escaped from the general carnage.

All the soldiers, high and low, were murdered when taken prisoners, as a matter of course; but the officers and soldiers of Tymour's army, after taking all the valuable moveables, thought they might be able to find a market for the artificers by whom they were made, and their families; and they collected together an immense number of men, women, and children. All who asked for mercy pretended to be able to make something that these Tartars had taken

a liking to. On coming before Delhi, Tymour's army encamped on the opposite or left bank of the river Jumna; and here he learnt, that his soldiers had collected together above one hundred thousand of these artificers, besides their women and children. There were no soldiers among them; but Tymour thought it might be troublesome either to keep them or to turn them away without their women and children; and still more so to make his soldiers send away these women and children immediately. He asked whether the prisoners were not for the most part *unbelievers* in his prophet Mahomed; and being told that the majority were Hindoos, he gave orders, that every man should be put to death; and that any officer or soldier who refused or delayed to kill or have killed all such men, should suffer death. "As soon as this order was made known," says Tymour's historian, and great eulogist, "the officers and soldiers began to put it in execution; and in less than one hour one hundred thousand prisoners, according to the smallest computation, were put to death, and their bodies thrown into the river Jumna. Among the rest, Moolana Nuseerod Deen Amor, one of the most venerable doctors of the court, who would never consent so much as to kill a single sheep, was constrained to order fifteen slaves, whom he had in his tents, to be slain. Tymour then gave orders that one-tenth of his soldiers should keep watch over the Indian women, children, and camels taken in the pillage." The city was soon after taken, and the

people commanded, as usual, to purchase their lives by the surrender of their property—troops were sent in to take it—numbers were tortured to death—and then the usual pillage and massacre of the whole people followed without regard to religion, age, or sex; and about a hundred thousand more of innocent and unoffending people were murdered. The troops next massacred the inhabitants of the old city, which had become crowded with fugitives from the new; the last remnant took refuge in a mosque, where two of Tymour's most distinguished generals rushed in upon them at the head of five hundred soldiers; and as the amiable historian tells us, "sent to the abyss of hell the souls of these infidels, of whose heads they erected towers, and gave their bodies for food to birds and beasts of prey!" Being at last tired of slaughter, the soldiers made slaves of the survivors, aud drove them out in chains; and as they passed, the officers were ordered to select any they liked except the masons; whom Tymour required to build for him, at Samarcand, a church similar to that of Altumsh, in old Delhi.

He now set out to take Meerut, which was at that time a fortified town of much note. The people determined to defend themselves; and happened to say, that Turmachurn Khan, who invaded India at the head of a similar body of Tartars a century before, had been unable to take the place. This so incensed Tymour, that he brought all his forces to bear on Meerut, took the place, and having had

all the Hindoo men found in it *skinned alive*, he distributed their wives and children among his soldiers as slaves. He now sent out a division of his army to murder unbelievers, and collect plunder, over the cultivated plains between the Ganges and Jumna, while he led the main body on the same *pious duty* along the hills from Hurdwar, on the Ganges, to the west. Having massacred a few thousands of the hill people, Tymour read the noon prayer, and returned thanks to God for the victories he had gained, and the numbers he had murdered through his goodness; and told his admiring army, "that a religious war like this produced two great advantages: it secured eternal happiness in heaven, and a good store of valuable spoils on earth—that his design in all the fatigues and labours which he had undertaken, was solely to render himself *pleasing to God*, treasure up *good works* for his eternal happiness, and get riches to bestow upon his soldiers and the poor!" The historian makes a grave remark upon this invasion. "The Koran declares, that the highest glory man can attain in this world is, unquestionably, that of waging a successful war in person against the enemies of his religion, (no matter whether those against whom it is waged happen ever to have heard of this religion or not.) Mahomed inculcated the same doctrine in his discourses with his friends; and in consequence, the great Tymour always strove to exterminate all the unbelievers, with a view to acquire that glory, and to spread the re-

nown of his conquests! My name," said he, "has spread terror through the universe; and the least motion I make, is capable of shaking the whole earth!"

Tymour returned to his capital of Samarcand, in Transoxiana, in May, 1399. His army, besides other things which they brought from India, had an immense number of men, women, and children, whom they had reduced to slavery, and driven along like flocks of sheep to forage for their subsistence in the countries through which they passed, or perish. After the murder on the banks of the Jumna of part of the multitude they had collected before taking the capital, amounting to one hundred thousand men, Tymour was obliged to assign one-tenth of the soldiers of his army to guard what were left, the women and children. "After the murder in the capital of Delhi," says the historian, an eye witness, "there were some soldiers who had a hundred and fifty slaves, men, women, and children, whom they drove out of the city before them; and some soldiers' boys had twenty slaves to their own share." On reaching Samarcand, they employed these slaves as best they could; and Tymour employed his, the masons, in raising his great church from the quarries of the neighbouring hills.

In October following, Tymour led this army of demons over the rich and polished countries of Syria, Natolia, and Georgia, levelling all the cities, towns, and villages, and massacreing the inhabitants

without any regard to age or sex, with the same *amiable view* of correcting the notions of people regarding his creed, propitiating the Deity, and rewarding his soldiers. He sent to the Christian inhabitants of Smyrna, then one of the first commercial cities in the world, a message by one of his generals, to request that they would at once embrace Mahomedanism, in the *beauties* of which the general and his soldiers had orders generously and diligently to instruct them! They refused, and Tymour repaired immediately to the spot, that he might "share in the merit of sending their souls to the abyss of hell." Bajazet, the Turkish emperor of Natolia, had recently terminated an unavailing siege of seven years. Tymour took the city in fourteen days, December, 1402; had every man, woman, and child that he found in it murdered; and caused some of the heads of the Christians to be thrown by his balistas or catapultas into the ships that had come from different European nations to their succour. All other Christian communities, found within the wide range of this dreadful tempest, were swept off in the same manner; nor did Mahomedan communities fare better. After the taking of Bagdad, every Tartar soldier was ordered to cut off and bring away the head of one or more prisoners, because some of the Tartar soldiers had been killed in the attack; "and they spared," says the historian, "neither old men of fourscore, nor young children of eight years of age; no quarter was given either to rich or

poor, and the number of the dead was so great, that they could not be counted; towers were made of these heads, to serve as an example to posterity." Ninety thousand were thus murdered in cold blood; and one hundred and twenty pyramids were made of the heads for trophies! Damascus, Nice, Aleppo, Sabaste, and all the other rich and populous cities of Palestine, Syria, Asia-Minor, and Georgia, then the most civilized region of the world, shared in the same fate; all were reduced to ruins, and their people, without regard to religion, age, or sex, barbarously and brutally murdered.

In the beginning of 1405, this man recollected, that among the many millions of unbelieving Christians and Hindoos, "whose souls he had sent to the abyss of hell," there were many Mahomedans, who had no doubt whatever in the divine origin or co-eternal existence of the Koran; and as their death might, perhaps, not have been altogether pleasing to his god and his prophet, he determined to appease them both by undertaking the murder of some two hundred millions of industrious and unoffending Chinese; among whom there was little chance of finding one man who had ever even *heard of the Koran*, much less believed in its *divinity* and *co-eternity*, or of its interpreter, Mahomed. At the head of between two and three hundred thousand well-mounted Tartars, and their followers, he departed from his capital of Samarcand, on the 8th of January, 1405, and crossed the Jaxartes on the ice—

in the words of his *judicious* historian, "he thus *generously* undertook the conquest of China, which was inhabited only by unbelievers, that by so good a work he might atone for what had been done amiss in other wars, in which the blood of so many of the faithful had been shed." "As all my vast conquests," said Tymour himself, "have caused the destruction of a good many of the faithful, I am resolved to perform some good action, to atone for the crimes of my past life; and to make war upon the infidels, and exterminate the idolaters of China, which cannot be done without very great strength and power. It is therefore fitting, my dear companions in arms, that those very soldiers who were the instruments whereby those my faults were committed, should be the means by which I work out my repentance; and that they should march into China, to acquire for themselves and their Emperor the merit of that holy war, in demolishing the temples of these unbelievers, and erecting good Mahomedan mosques in their places. By this means we shall obtain pardon for all our sins, for the holy Koran assures us that good works efface the sins of this world. At the close of the Emperor's speech the princes of the blood and other officers of rank, besought God to bless his generous undertaking, unanimously applauding his sentiments, and loading him with praises. Let the Emperor but display his standard, and we will follow him to the end of the world!" Tymour died soon after crossing the

Jaxartes, on the first of April, 1405; and China was saved from this dreadful scourge. But as the *philosophical* historian, Shurfod Deen, *profoundly* observes, "The Koran remarks, that if any one in his pilgrimage to Mecca should be surprised by death, the merit of the good work is still written in heaven in his name, as surely as if he had had the good fortune to accomplish it. It is the same with regard to the Ghazee, (holy war,) where an eternal merit is acquired by troubles, fatigues, and dangers; and he who dies during the enterprise, at whatever stage, is deemed to have completed his design." Thus Tymour the lame had the merit, beyond all question of doubt, of sending to the abyss of hell "two hundred millions of men, women, and children, for not believing in a certain book, of which they had never heard or read; for the Tartars had not become Mahomedans when they conquered China in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Indeed, the *amiable* and *profound* historian, is of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, "that God himself must have arranged all this in favour of so great and good a prince; and knowing that his end was nigh, inspired him with the idea of *undertaking* this enterprise, that he might have the merit of having *completed* it; otherwise, how should he have thought of leading out his army in the dead of winter to cross countries covered with ice and snow?"

The heir to the throne, the Prince Peer Mahomed, was absent when Tymour died; but his wives who

had accompanied him were all anxious to share in the merit of the holy undertaking; and in a council of the chiefs held after his death, the opinions of these amiable princesses prevailed, that the two hundred millions of Chinese ought still to be sent to "the abyss of hell," since it had been the earnest desire of their deceased husband, and must undoubtedly have been the will of God, to send them thither without delay! Fortunately, quarrels soon arose among his sons and grandsons about the succession, and the army recrossed the Jaxartes, still over the ice, in the beginning of April; and China was saved from this scourge. Such was Tymour the lame, the man whose greatness and goodness are to live in the hearts of the people of India, nine-tenths of whom are Hindoos; and to fill them to overflowing with love and gratitude towards his descendants!

In this brief sketch will perhaps be found the true history of the origin of the gypsies, the tide of whose immigration begun to flow over all parts of Europe immediately after the return of Tymour from India. The hundreds of thousands of slaves which his army brought from India in men, women, and children, were cast away when they got as many as they liked from among the more beautiful and polished inhabitants of the cities of Palestine, Syria, Asia-Minor, and Georgia, which were all one after the other treated in the same manner as Delhi had been. The Tartar soldiers had no time to settle down and employ them as they intended for their

convenience; they were marched off to ravage western Asia, in October, 1399, about three months after their return from India. Tymour reached Samarcand in the middle of May; but he had gone on in advance of his army, which did not arrive for some time after. Being cast off, the slaves from India spread over those countries which were most likely to afford them the means of subsistence, as beggars; for they knew nothing of the manners, the arts, or the language of those among whom they were thrown; and as Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Anatolia, Georgia, Circassia, and Russia, had been, or were being, desolated by the army of this Tartar chief, they passed into Egypt and Bulgaria, whence they spread over all other countries. Scattered over the face of these countries, they found small parties of vagrants who were from the same region as themselves, who spoke the same language, and who had in all probability been drawn away by the same means, of armies returning from the invasion of India. Ghengis Khan, invaded India two centuries before; his descendant, Turmachurn, invaded India in 1303, and must have taken back with him multitudes of captives. The unhappy prisoners of Tymour the lame, gathered round these nuclei as the only people who could understand or sympathise with them. From his sixth expedition into India, Mahmood is said to have carried back with him to Ghiznee, two hundred thousand Hindoo captives in a state of slavery, A.D. 1011. From his seventh expedition in

1017, his army of one hundred and forty thousand fighting men returned "laden with Hindoo captives, who became so cheap, that a Hindoo slave was valued at less than two rupees!" Mahmood made several expiditions to the west immediately after his return from India, in the same manner as Tymour did after him; and he may in the same manner have scattered his Indian captives. They adopted the habits of their new friends, which are indeed those of all the vagrant tribes of India; and they have continued to preserve them to the present day. I have compared their vocabularies with those of India, and find so many of the words the same, that I think a native of India would, even in the present day, be able, without much difficulty, to make himself understood by a gang of gypsies in any part of Europe. A good Christian may not be able exactly to understand the nature of the merit which Tamerlane expected to acquire from sending so many unoffending Chinese to the abyss of hell. According to the Mahomedan creed, God has vowed "to fill hell chock full of men and genii." Hence his reasons for *hardening* their hearts against that faith in the Koran which might send them to heaven; and which would, they think, necessarily follow an *impartial* examination of the evidence of its divinity and certainty. Tamerlane thought, no doubt, that it would be very meritorious on his part to assist God in this his labour of filling the great abyss, by throwing into it all the existing population of China; while he

spread over their land, in pastoral tribes, the goodly seed of Mahomedanism, which would give him a rich supply of recruits for paradise.

The following dialogue took place one day between me and the Mooftee, or head Mahomedan law officer of one of our regulation courts.

"Does it not seem to you strange, Mooftee Sahib, that your prophet, who, according to your notions, must have been so well acquainted with the universe, and the laws that govern it, should not have revealed to his followers some great truth hitherto unknown regarding these laws, which might have commanded their belief, and 'that of all future generations, in his divine mission?'"

"Not at all," said the Mooftee; "they would probably not have understood him; and if they had, those who did not believe in what he did actually reveal to them, would not have believed in him had he revealed *all* the laws that govern the universe."

"And why should they not have believed in him?"

"Because what he revealed was sufficient to convince all men whose hearts had not been hardened to unbelief. God said, 'As for the unbelievers, it is the same with them, whether you admonish them or do not admonish them; they will not believe. God hath sealed up their hearts, their ears, and their eyes; and a grievous punishment awaits them.'"*

* See Koran, chap. ii.

"And why were the hearts of any men thus hardened to unbelief, when by unbelief they were to incur such dreadful penalties?"

"Because they were otherwise wicked men."

"But you think, of course, that there was really much of good in the revelations of your prophet?"

"Of course we do."

"And that those who believed in it were likely to become better men for their faith?"

"Assuredly."

"Then why harden the hearts of even bad men against a faith that might make them good?"

"Has not God said—'If we had pleased, we had certainly given unto every soul its direction; but the word which hath proceeded from me, must necessarily be fulfilled, when I said, *Verily I will fill hell with genii and men altogether.*'* And again, 'Had it pleased the Lord he would have made all men of one religion; but they shall not cease to differ among them, unless those on whom the Lord shall have mercy; and unto this hath he created them; for the word of thy Lord shall be fulfilled, when he said, *Verily, I will fill hell altogether with genii and men.*'" †

"You all believe that the devil, like all the angels, was made of fire?"

"Yes."

"And that he was doomed to hell because he

* See Koran, chap. xxxii. ‡ Ibid. chap. xi.

would not fall down and worship Adam, who was made of clay?"

"Yes, God commanded him to bow down to Adam; and when he did not do as he was bid, God said, 'Why, Eblees, what hindered thee from bowing down to Adam as the other angels did?' He replied, 'It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast formed of dried clay, or black mud.' God said, 'Get thee, therefore, hence, for thou shalt be pelted with stones; and a curse shall be upon thee till the day of judgment!' The devil said, 'O Lord, give me respite until the day of resurrection.' God said, 'Verily, thou shalt be respited until the appointed time.'" *

"And does it not appear to you, Mooftee Sahib, that in respiting the devil, Eblees, till the day of resurrection, some injustice was done to the children of Adam?"

"How?"

"Because he replies, 'O Lord, because thou hast seduced me I will surely tempt men to disobedience in the earth."

"No, sir, because he could only tempt those who were *predestined* to go astray, for he adds, 'I will seduce them all, except such of them as shall be *thy chosen servants*.' God said, 'This is the right way with me. Verily, as to my servants, thou shalt have no power over them; but over those only who shall

* See Koran, chap. xv.

be seduced, and who shall follow thee; and hell is surely denounced unto them all.'" *

"Then you think, Mooftee Sahib, that the devil could seduce only such as were predestined to go astray, and who would have gone astray whether he the devil had been respited or not?"

"Certainly I do."

"Does it not then appear to you that it is as unjust to predestine men to do that for which they are to be sent to hell, as it would be to leave them all unguided to the temptations of the devil?"

"These are difficult questions," replied the Mooftee, "which we cannot venture to ask even ourselves. All that we can do is to endeavour to understand what is written in the holy book, and act according to it. God made us all, and he has the right to do what he pleases with what he has made; the potter makes two vessels, he dashes the one on the ground, but the other he sells to stand in the palaces of princes!"

"But a pot has no soul, Mooftee Sahib, to be roasted to all eternity in hell!"

* "This is a revelation of the most mighty, the merciful God; that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence. Our sentence hath justly been pronounced against the greater part of them, wherefore they shall not believe. It shall be equal unto them whether thou preach unto them, or do not preach unto them; they shall not believe." —Koran, chap. xxxvi.

"True, sir; these are questions beyond the reach of human understanding."

"How often do you read over the Koran?" *

"I read the whole over about three times a month," replied the Mooftee.

I mentioned this conversation one day to the Nawab Aleeoodeen, a most estimable old gentleman of seventy years of age, who resides at Moradabad, and asked him whether he did not think it a singular omission on the part of Mahomed, after his journey to heaven, not to tell mankind some of the truths that have since been discovered regarding the nature of the bodies that fill these heavens, and the laws that govern their motions. Mankind could not, either from the Koran, or from the traditions, perceive that he was at all aware of the errors of the system of astronomy that prevailed in his day, and among his people.

"Not at all," replied the Nawab; "the prophets had no doubt abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the heavenly bodies, and the laws which govern them, particularly those who, like Mahomed, had been up through the seven heavens; but their thoughts were so entirely taken up with the Deity, that they probably never noticed the objects by which he was surrounded; and if they had noticed

* I have never met another man so thoroughly master of the Koran as the Mooftee, and yet he had the reputation of being a very corrupt man in his office.

them, they would not perhaps have thought it necessary to say anything about them. Their object was to direct men's thoughts towards God, and his commandments; and to instruct them in their duties towards him and towards each other. Suppose," continued the Nawab, "you were to be invited to see and converse with even your earthly sovereign, would not your thoughts be too much taken up with him to admit of your giving, on your return, an account of the things you saw about him. I have been several times to see you, and I declare that I have been so much taken up with the conversations which have passed, that I have never noticed the many articles I now see around me, nor could I have told any one on my return home what I had seen in your room,—the wall shades, the pictures, the sofas, the tables, the book-cases," continued he, "casting his eyes round the room, all escaped my notice, and might have escaped it had my eyes been younger and stronger than they are. What then must have been the state of mind of those great prophets, who were admitted to see and converse with the great Creator of the universe, and were sent by him to instruct mankind!"

I told my old friend that I thought his answer the best that could be given; but still, that we could not help thinking, that if Mahomed had really been acquainted with the nature of the heavenly bodies, and the laws which govern them, he would have taken advantage of his knowledge to secure more

firmly their faith in his mission, and have explained to them the real state of the case, instead of talking about the stars as merely made to be thrown at devils, to give light to men upon this little globe of ours, and to guide them in their wanderings upon it by sea and land.

"But what," said the Nawab, "are the great truths that you would have had our holy prophet to teach mankind?"

"Why, Nawab Sahib, I would have had him tell us, amongst other things, of that law which makes this our globe, and the other planets revolve round the sun, and their moons around them. I would have had him teach us something of the nature of the things we call comets, or stars with large tails, and of that of the fixed stars, which we suppose to be suns, like our sun, with planets revolving round them like ours, since it is clear that they do not borrow their light from our sun, nor from anything that we can discover in the heavens. I would also have had him tell us the nature of that white belt which crosses the sky, which you call the ovarious belt, Khutabyuz, and we the milky-way, and which we consider to be a collection of self-lighted stars, while many orthodox but unlettered Mussulmans think it the marks made in the sky by "*Borak*," the rough-shed donkey, on which your prophet rode from Jerusalem to heaven. And you think, Nawab Sahib, that there was quite evidence enough to satisfy any person whose heart had not been hardened

to unbelief? and that no description of the heavenly bodies, or of the laws which govern their motion, could have had any influence on the minds of such people?"

"Assuredly I do, sir! Has not God said, 'If we should open a gate in the heavens above them, and they should ascend thereto all the day long, they would surely say, our eyes are only dazzled, or rather we are a people deluded by enchantments.'* Do you think, sir, that anything which his majesty, Moses, could have said about the planets, and the comets, and the milky-way, would have tended so much to persuade the children of Israel of his divine mission, as did the single stroke of his rod, which brought a river of delicious water gushing from a dry rock when they were all dying from thirst? When our holy prophet," continued the Nawab, (placing the points of the four fingers of his right-hand on the table,) "placed his blessed hand thus on the ground, and caused four streams to gush out from the dry plain, and supply with fresh water the whole army which was perishing from thirst; and when out of only *five small dates* he afterwards feasted all this immense army till they could eat no more, he surely did more to convince his followers of his divine mission than he could have done by any discourse about the planets, and the milky-way," (Khut, i, Abyuz.)

"No doubt, Nawab Sahib, these were very powerful arguments for those who saw them, or believed

* See Koran, chap. xv.

them to have been seen; and those who doubt the divinity of your prophet's mission are those who doubt their having ever been seen."

"The whole army saw and attested them, sir, and that is evidence enough for us; and those who saw them, and were not satisfied, must have had their hearts hardened to unbelief."

"And you think, Nawab Sahib, that a man is not master of his own belief or disbelief in religious matters; though he is rewarded by an eternity of bliss in paradise for the one, and punished by an eternity of scorching in hell for the other?"

"I do, sir—faith is a matter of feeling; and over our feelings we have no control. All that we can do is to prevent their influencing our actions, when these actions would be mischievous. I have a desire to stretch out this arm, and crush that fly on the table. I can control the act, and do so; but the desire is not under my control."

"True, Nawab Sahib; and in this life we punish men not for their feelings, which is beyond their control; but for their acts, over which they have control; and we are apt to think that the Deity will do the same."

"There are, sir," continued the Nawab, "three kinds of certainty—the moral certainty, the mathematical certainty, and the religious certainty, which we hold to be the greatest of all—the one in which the mind feels entire repose. This repose I feel in everything that is written in the Koran, in the Bible,

and, with the few known exceptions, in the New Testament. We do not believe that Christ was the son of God, though we believe him to have been a great prophet sent down to enlighten mankind; nor do we believe that he was crucified. We believe that the wicked Jews got hold of a thief, and crucified him in the belief that he was the Christ—but the real Christ was, we think, taken up into heaven, and not suffered to be crucified."

"But, Nawab Sahib, the Seikhs have their book in which they have the same faith."

"True, sir, but the Seikhs are unlettered, ignorant brutes; and you do not, I hope, call their *Gurunth* a book—a thing written only the other day, and full of nonsense! No book has appeared since the Koran came down from heaven; nor will any other come till the day of judgment. And how," said the Nawab, "have people in modern days made all the discoveries you speak of in astronomy?"

"Chiefly, Nawab Sahib, by means of the telescope which is an instrument of modern invention."

"And do you suppose, sir, that I would put the evidence of one of your Doorbems (telescopes) in opposition to that of the holy prophet? No, sir, depend upon it that there is much fallacy in a telescope—it is not to be relied upon. I have conversed with many excellent European gentlemen; and their great fault appears to me to lie in the implicit faith they put in these *telescopes*—they hold their evidence

above that of the prophets, Moses, Abraham, and Elijah! It is dreadful to think how much mischief these telescopes may do! No, sir, let us hold fast by the prophets; what they tell us is the truth, and the only truth that we can entirely rely upon in this life. I would not hold the evidence of all the telescopes in the world, as anything against one word uttered by the humblest of the prophets named in the Old or New Testament, or the holy Koran. The prophets, sir, keep to the prophets, and throw aside your telescopes—there is no truth in them: some of them turn people upside down, and make them walk upon their heads; and yet you put their evidence against that of the prophets."

Nothing that I could say would, after this, convince the Nawab that there was any virtue in telescopes; his religious feeling had been greatly excited against them; and had Galileo, Tycho-Brahe, Kepler, Newton, Laplace, and the Herschels, all been present to defend them, they would not have altered his opinion of their demerits. The old man has, I believe, a shrewd suspicion that they are inventions of the devil to lead men from the right way; and were he told all that these great men have discovered through their means, he would be very much disposed to believe that they were incarnations of his satanic majesty playing over again with *Doorbems*, (telescopes,) the same game which the serpent played with the apple in the garden of Eden!

" Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid;
Leave them to God above: him serve, and fear!
Of other creatures, as him pleases best,
Wherever placed, let him dispose: joy thou
In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
And thy fair Eve: heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there: be lowly wise:
Think only what concerns thee, and thy being:
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree:
Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd,
Not of earth only, but of highest heaven!"

Paradise Lost, book viii.

CHAPTER XXI.

INDIAN POLICE—ITS DEFECTS—AND THEIR CAUSE AND REMEDY.

On the 26th we crossed the river Jumna, over a bridge of boats, kept up by the King of Oude for the use of the public, though his majesty is now connected with Delhi only by the tomb of his ancestor; and his territories are separated from the imperial city by the two great rivers, Ganges and Jumna. We proceeded to Furuckungur, about twelve miles over an execrable road running over a flat but rugged surface of unproductive soil. India is, perhaps, the only civilized country in the world where a great city could be approached by such a road from the largest military station in the empire, not more than three stages distant. After breakfast, the head native police officer of the division came to pay his respects. He talked of the dreadful murders which used to be perpetrated in this neighbourhood by miscreants, who found shelter in the territories of the Begum Sumroo, whither his followers dared not

hunt for them; and mentioned a case of nine persons who had been murdered just within the boundary of our territories about seven years before, and thrown into a dry well. He was present at the inquest held on their bodies, and described their appearance; and I found that they were the bodies of a news writer from Lahore, who, with his eight companions, had been murdered by Thugs on his way back to Rohilcund. I had long before been made acquainted with the circumstances of this murder, and the perpetrators had all been secured, but we wanted this link in the chain of evidence. It had been described to me as having taken place within the boundary of the Begum's territory, and I applied to her for a report on the inquest. She declared that no bodies had been discovered about the time mentioned; and I concluded that the ignorance of the people of the neighbourhood was pretended, as usual in such cases, with a view to avoid a summons to give evidence in our courts. I referred forthwith to the magistrate of the district, and found the report that I wanted, and thereby completed the chain of evidence upon a very important case. The Thanadar seemed much surprised to find that I was so well acquainted with the circumstances of this murder; but still more, that the perpetrators were not the poor old Begum's subjects, but our own!

The police officers employed on our borders find it very convenient to trace the perpetrators of all murders and gang robberies into the territories of

native chiefs, whose subjects they accuse often when they know that the crimes have been perpetrated by our own. They are, on the one hand, afraid to seize or accuse the real offenders, lest they should avenge themselves by some personal violence, or by thefts or robberies, which they often commit, with a view to get them turned out of office as inefficient; and on the other they are tempted to conceal the real offenders by a liberal share of the spoil, and a promise of not again offending within *their beat*. Their tenure of office is far too insecure, and their salaries are far too small. They are often dismissed summarily by the magistrate if they send him in no prisoners; and also if they send in to him prisoners who are not ultimately convicted, because a magistrate's merits are too often estimated by the proportion that his convictions bear to his acquittals, among the prisoners committed for trial to the sessions. Men are often ultimately acquitted for want of judicial proof, when there is abundance of that moral proof on which a police officer or magistrate has to act in the discharge of his duties; and in a country where gangs of professional and hereditary robbers and murderers extend their depredations into very remote parts, and seldom commit them in the districts in which they reside, the most vigilant police officer must often fail to discover the perpetrators of heavy crimes that take place within his range.

When they cannot find them, the native officers either seize innocent persons, and frighten them into

confession; or else they try to conceal the crime, and in this they are seconded by the sufferers in the robbery, who will always avoid if they can a prosecution in our courts, and by their neighbours, who dread being summoned to give evidence as a serious calamity. The man who has been robbed, instead of being an object of compassion among his neighbours, often incurs their resentment for subjecting them to this calamity; and they not only pay largely themselves, but make him pay largely to have his losses concealed from the magistrate. Formerly, when a district was visited by a judge of circuit, to hold his sessions only once or twice a year, and men were constantly bound over to prosecute and appear as evidence, from sessions to sessions, till they were wearied and wearied to death, this evil was much greater than it is at present, when every district is provided with its judge of sessions, who is, or ought to be, always ready to take up the cases committed for trial by the magistrate. This was one of the best measures of Lord W. Bentinck's admirable, though much abused administration of the government of India. Still, however, the inconvenience and delay of prosecution in our courts are so great, and the chance of the ultimate conviction of great offenders is so small, that strong temptations are held out to the police to conceal, or misrepresent the character of crimes; and they must have a greater feeling of security in their tenure of office, and more adequate salaries, better chances of rising, and better super-

vision over them, before they will resist such temptations. These Thanadars, and all the public officers under them, are all so very inadequately paid, that corruption among them excites no feeling of odium or indignation in the minds of those among whom they live and serve. Such feelings are rather directed against the government that places them in situations of so much labour and responsibility with salaries so inadequate; and thereby confers upon them virtually a kind of license to pay themselves by preying upon those whom they are employed ostensibly to protect. They know that with such salaries they can never have the reputation of being honest, however faithfully they may discharge their duties; and it is too hard to expect that men will long submit to the necessity of being thought corrupt, without reaping some of the advantages of corruption. Let the Thanadars have everywhere such salaries as will enable them to maintain their families in comfort, and keep up that appearance of respectability which their station in society demands; and over every three or four Thanadars' jurisdiction, let there be an officer appointed upon a higher scale of salary, to supervise and control their proceedings, and armed with powers to decide minor offences. To these higher stations the Thanadars will be able to look forward as their reward for a faithful and zealous discharge of their duties.

He who can suppose that men so inadequately paid, who have no promotion to look forward to, and

feel no security in their tenure of office, and consequently no hope of a provision for old age, will be zealous and honest in the discharge of their duties, must be very imperfectly acquainted with human nature, and with the motives by which men are influenced in all quarters of the world; but we are none of us so ignorant, for we all know that the same motives actuate public servants in India, as elsewhere. We have acted successfully upon this knowledge in the scale of salaries and gradation of rank assigned to European civil functionaries, and to all native functionaries employed in the judicial and revenue branches of the public service; and why not act upon it in that of the salaries assigned to the native officers employed in the police? The magistrate of a district gets a salary of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred rupees a month. The native officer next under him is the Thanadar, or head native police officer of a subdivision of his district, containing many towns and villages, with a population of a hundred thousand souls. This officer gets a salary of twenty-five rupees a month. He cannot possibly do his duty unless he keeps one or two horses; indeed, he is told by the magistrate that he cannot; and that he must have one or two horses, or resign his post. The people seeing how much we expect from the Thanadar, and how little we give him, submit to his demands for contributions without murmuring, and consider almost any demand trivial from a man so employed and so paid. They are con-

founded at our inconsistency, and say, "We see you giving high salaries, and high prospects of advancement, to men who have nothing to do but collect your rents, and to decide our disputes about pounds, shillings, and pence, which we used to decide much better ourselves, when we had no other court but that of our elders—while those who are to protect life and property, to keep peace over the land, and enable the industrious to work in security, maintain their families, and pay the government revenue, are left with hardly any pay at all." There is really nothing in our rule in India which strikes the people so much as this inconsistency, the evil effects of which are so great and so manifest; the only way to remedy the evil is, to give a greater feeling of security in the tenure of office, a higher rate of salary, the hope of a provision for old age, and, above all, the gradation of rank, by interposing the officers I speak of between the Thanadars and the magistrate. This has all been done in the establishments for the collection of the revenue, and administration of civil justice.

Hobbes, in his Leviathan, says, "And seeing that the end of punishment is not revenge and discharge of choler, but correction either of the offender, or of others, by his example, the severest punishments are to be inflicted for those crimes that are of most danger to the public; such as are those which proceed from malice to the government established; those that spring from contempt of justice; those

that provoke indignation in the multitude; and those, which unpunished, seem authorized, as when they are committed by sons, servants, or favourites of men in authority. For indignation carrieth men, not only against the actors and authors of injustice, but against all power that is likely to protect them; as in the case of Tarquin, when, for the insolent act of one of his sons, he was driven out of Rome, and the monarchy itself dissolved." (Para. 2, chap. xxx.) Almost every one of our Thanadars is, in his way, a little Tarquin, exciting the indignation of the people against his rulers; and no time should be lost in converting him into something better.

By the obstacles which are still everywhere opposed to the conviction of offenders in the distance of our courts, the forms of procedure, and other causes "of the law's delay," we render the duties of our police establishment everywhere "more honoured in the breach than the observance," by the mass of the people among whom they are placed. We must, as I have before said, remove some of these obstacles to the successful prosecution of offenders in our criminal courts, which tend so much to deprive the government of all popular aid and support in the administration of justice; and to convert all our police establishments into instruments of oppression, instead of what they should be, the efficient means of protection to the persons, property, and character of the innocent. Crimes multiply from the assurance the guilty are everywhere apt to feel of impunity to

crime; and the more crimes multiply the greater is the aversion the people everywhere feel to aid the government in the arrest and conviction of criminals; because they see more and more the innocent punished by attendance upon distant courts at great cost and inconvenience, to give evidence upon points which appear to them unimportant, while the guilty escape owing to technical difficulties which they can never understand.

The best way to remove these obstacles is, to interpose officers between the Thanadar and the magistrate, and arm them with judicial powers to try minor cases, leaving an appeal open to the magistrate; and to extend the final jurisdiction of the magistrate to a greater range of crimes, though it should involve the necessity of reducing the measure of punishment annexed to them. Beccaria has justly observed, that "Crimes are more effectually prevented by the certainty than by the severity of punishment. The certainty of a small punishment will make a stronger impression than the fear of one more severe, if attended with the hope of escaping; for it is the nature of mankind to be terrified at the approach of the smallest inevitable evil, whilst hope, the best gift of Heaven, has the power of dispelling the apprehensions of a greater, especially if supported by examples of impunity, which weakness or avarice too frequently affords."

I ought to have mentioned that the police of a district, in our Bengal territories, consists of a ma-

gistrate and his assistant, who are European gentlemen of the civil service; and a certain number of Thanadars, from twelve to sixteen, who preside over the different subdivisions of the district in which they reside with their establishments. These Thanadars get twenty-five rupees a month, have under them four or five Jemadars upon eight rupees, and thirty or forty Burkundazes upon four rupees a month. The Jemadars are, most of them, placed in charge of nakas, or subdivisions of the Thanadar's jurisdiction, the rest are kept at their head-quarters, ready to move to any point where their services may be required. These are all paid by government; but there is in each village one watchman, and in large villages more than one, who are appointed by the heads of villages, and paid by the communities, and required daily or periodically to report all the police matters of their villages to the Thanadars.* The distance between the magistrates and Thanadars is at present immeasurable; and an infinite deal of mischief is done by the latter and those under them, of which the magistrates know nothing whatever. In the first place, they levy a fee of one rupee from every village at the festival of the Hooly in February; and another at that of the Duseyra in October; and in each Thanadar's jurisdiction there are from one to two hundred villages. These and numerous other

* There is a superintendent of police for the province of Bengal; but in the north-western provinces his duties are divided among the commissioners of revenue.

unauthorised exactions they share with those under them; and with the native officers about the person of the magistrate, who, if not conciliated, can always manage to make them appear unfit for their places.

A robbery affords a rich harvest. Some article of stolen property is found in one man's house, and by a little legerdemain it is conveyed to that of another, both of whom are made to pay liberally; the man robbed also pays, and all the members of the village community are made to do the same. They are all called to the court of the Thanadar to give evidence, as to what they have seen or heard regarding either the fact, or the persons in the remotest degree connected with it—as to the arrests of the supposed offenders—the search of their house—the character of their grandmothers and grandfathers; and they are told, that they are to be sent to the magistrate a hundred miles distant, and there made to stand at the door among a hundred and fifty pairs of shoes, till *his excellency* the Nazir, the under-sheriff of the court, may be pleased to announce them to his highness the magistrate—which of course he will not do without a *consideration*. To escape all these threatened evils they pay handsomely, and *depart in peace*. The Thanadar reports that an attempt to rob a house by persons unknown, had been defeated by his exertions, and the *good fortune* of the magistrate; and sends a liberal share of spoil to those who are to read his report to that functionary. This goes on more or less in every

district, but more especially in those where the magistrate happens to be a man of violent temper, who is always surrounded by knaves, because men who have any regard for their character will not approach him—or a weak, good-natured man, easily made to believe anything, and managed by favourites—or one too fond of field sports, or of music, painting, European languages, literature, and sciences, or, lastly, of his own ease.* Some magistrates think they can put down crime by dismissing the Thanadar; but this tends

* Mr. R., when appointed magistrate of the district of Futtehpore on the Ganges, had a wish to translate the Henriade, and, in order to secure leisure, he issued a proclamation to all the Thanadars of his district to put down crime, declaring that he would hold them responsible for what might be committed, and dismiss from his situation every one who should suffer any to be committed within his charge. This district, lying on the borders of Oude, had been noted for the number and atrocious character of its crimes. From that day all the periodical returns went up to the superior court blank—not a crime was reported. Astonished at this sudden result of the change of magistrates, the superior court of Calcutta (the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut) requested one of the judges, who was about to pass through the district on his way down, to inquire into the nature of the system, which seemed to work so well, with a view to its adoption in other districts. He found crimes were more abundant than ever; and the Thanadars showed him the proclamation, which had been understood as all such proclamations are, not as enjoining vigilance in the prosecution of crime, but as prohibiting all *report* of them, so as to *save the magistrate trouble*, and get him a good name with his superiors!

only to prevent crimes being reported to him; for in such cases the feelings of the people are in exact accordance with the interests of the Thanadars; and crimes augment by the assurance of impunity thereby given to criminals. The only remedy for all this evil is, to fill up the great gulf between the magistrate and Thanadar, by officers who shall be to him, what I have described the patrol officers to be to the collectors of Customs, at once the *tapis* of Prince Hosaen, and the *telescope* of Prince Ali—a medium that will enable him to be everywhere, and see everything! And why is this remedy not applied? Simply and solely because such appointments would be given to the uncovenanted, and might tend indirectly to diminish the appointments open to the covenanted servants of the Company. Young gentlemen of the civil service are supposed to be doing the duties which would be assigned to such officers while they are at school as assistants to magistrates and collectors; and were this great gulf filled up by efficient uncovenanted officers, they would have no school to go to. There is no doubt some truth in this; but the welfare of a whole people should not be sacrificed to keep this school or play-ground open exclusively for them; let them act for a time as they would unwillingly do with the uncovenanted, and they will learn much more than if they occupied the ground exclusively and acted alone—they will be always with people ready and willing to tell them the real state of things, whereas, at present, they are

always with those who studiously conceal it from them.

It is a common practice among Thanadars all over the country, to connive at the residence within their jurisdiction of gangs of robbers, on the condition, that they shall not rob within those limits, and shall give them a share of what they bring back from their distant expeditions. They go out ostensibly in search of service, on the termination of the rains of one season in October; and return before their commencement the next, in June; but their vocation is always well known to the police, and to all the people of their neighbourhood; and very often to the magistrates themselves, who could, if they would, secure them on their return with their booty; but this would not secure their conviction unless the proprietors could be discovered, which they scarcely ever could. Were the police officers to seize them, they would be all finally acquitted and released by the judges—the magistrate would get into disrepute with his superiors, by the number of acquittals compared with the convictions exhibited in his monthly tables; and he would vent his spleen upon the poor Thanadar, who would, at the same time, have incurred the resentment of the robbers; and between both, he would have no possible chance of escape. He therefore consults his own interest and his own ease by leaving them to carry on their trade of robbery or murder unmolested; and his master, the magistrate, is well pleased not to be

pestered with charges against men whom he has no chance of getting ultimately convicted. It was in this way that so many hundred families of assassins by profession, were able for so many generations to reside in the most cultivated and populous parts of our territories, and extend their depredations into the remotest parts of India, before our system of operations was brought to bear upon them in 1830. Their profession was perfectly well known to the people of the districts in which they resided, and to the greater part of the police; they murdered not within their own district, and the police of that district cared nothing about what they might do beyond it.

The most respectable native gentleman in the city and district, told me one day an amusing instance of the proceedings of a native officer of that district, which occurred about five years ago. "In a village which he had purchased and let in farms, a shopkeeper was one day superintending the cutting of some sugar-cane which he had purchased from a cultivator as it stood. His name was Girdaree, I think, and the boy who was cutting it for him was the son of a poor man called Mudaree. Girdaree wanted to have the cane cut down as near as he could to the ground, while the boy, to save himself the trouble of stooping, would persist in cutting it a good deal too high up. After admonishing him several times, the shopkeeper gave him a smart clout on the head. The boy, to prevent a repetition,

called out, 'Murder! Girdaree has killed me—Girdaree has killed me!' His old father, who was at work carrying away the cane at a little distance out of sight, ran off to the village watchman, and in his anger, told him that Girdaree had murdered his son. The watchman went as fast as he could to the Thanadar, or head police officer of the division, who resided some miles distant. The Thanadar ordered off his subordinate officer, the Jemadar, with half a dozen policemen, to arrange everything for an inquest on the body, by the time he should reach the place, with all due pomp. The Jemadar went to the house of the murderer, and dismounting, ordered all the shopkeepers of the village, who were many and respectable, to be forthwith seized, and bound hand and feet. 'So,' said the Jemadar, 'you have all been aiding and abetting your friend in the murder of poor Mudaree's only son!' 'May it please your excellency, we have never heard of any murder.' 'Impudent scoundrels,' roared the Jemadar; 'does not the poor boy lie dead in the sugar-cane field? and is not his highness the Thanadar coming to hold an inquest upon it? and do you take us for fools enough to believe that any scoundrel among you would venture to commit a deliberate murder without being aided and abetted by all the rest?' The village watchman began to feel some apprehension that he had been too precipitate; and entreated the Jemadar to go first and see the body of the boy. 'What do you take us for,' said the

Jemadar, 'a thing without a stomach? Do you suppose that government servants can live and labour on air? Are we to go and examine bodies upon empty stomachs? Let his father take care of the body, and let these shopkeeping murderers provide us something to eat.' Nine rupees worth of sweetmeats, and materials for a feast, were forthwith collected at the expense of the shopkeepers, who stood bound, and waiting the arrival of his highness the Thanadar, who was soon after seen approaching majestically upon a richly caparisoned horse. 'What,' said the Jemadar, 'is there nobody to go and receive his highness in due form?' One of the shopkeepers was untied, and presented with fifteen rupees by his family, and those of the other shopkeepers. These he took up and presented to his highness, who deigned to receive them through one of his train, and then dismounted and partook of the feast that had been provided. 'Now,' said his highness, 'we will go and hold an inquest on the body of the poor boy;' and off moved all the great functionaries of government to the sugar-cane field, with the village watchman leading the way. The father of the boy met them as they entered; and was pointed out to them by the village watchman. 'Where,' said the Thanadar, 'is your poor boy?' 'There,' said Mudaree, 'cutting the canes.' 'How cutting the canes? Was he not murdered by the shopkeepers?' 'No,' said Mudaree, 'he was beaten by Girdaree, and richly deserved it, I find.' Girdaree

and the boy were called up, and the little urchin said, that he called out murder merely to prevent Girdaree from giving him another clout on the side of the head. His father was then fined nine rupees for giving a false alarm; and Girdaree, fifteen for so *unmercifully* beating the boy; and they were made to pay on the instant, under the the penalty of being all sent off forty miles to the magistrate. Having thus settled this very important affair, his highness the Thanadar walked back to the shop, ordered all the shopkeepers to be set at liberty, smoked his pipe, mounted his horse and rode home, followed by all his police officers; and well pleased with his day's work."

The farmer of the village soon after made his way to the city, and communicated the circumstances to my old friend, who happened to be on intimate terms with the magistrate. He wrote a polite note to the Thanadar to say, that he should never get any rents from his estate if the occupants were liable to such fines as these, and that he should take the earliest opportunity of mentioning them to his friend, the magistrate. The Thanadar ascertained that he was really in the habit of visiting the magistrate, and communicating with him freely; and hushed up the matter by causing all, save the expenses of the feast, to be paid back. These are things of daily occurrence in all parts of our dominions, and the Thanadars are not afraid to play such "fantastic tricks," because all those under and all those above them share more or less in the

spoil, and are bound in honour to conceal them from the European magistrate, whom it is the interest of all to keep in the dark. They know that the people will hardly ever complain, from the great dislike they all have to appear in our courts, particularly when it is against any of the officers of those courts, or their friends and creatures in the district police.

When our operations commenced in 1830, these assassins revelled over every road in India in gangs of hundreds, without the fear of punishment from divine or human laws; but there is not now, I believe, a road in India infested by them. That our government has still defects, and very great ones, must be obvious to every one who has travelled much over India with the requisite qualifications and disposition to observe; but I believe, that in spite of all the defects I have noticed above in our police system, the life, property, and character of the innocent are now more secure, and all their advantages more freely enjoyed, than they ever were under any former government with whose history we are acquainted, or than they now are under any native government in India. Those who think they are not so, almost always refer to the reign of Shah Jehan, when men like Tavernier travelled so securely all over India with their bags of diamonds; but I would ask them, whether they think that the life, property, and character of the innocent could be anywhere very secure, or their advantages very

freely enjoyed, in a country where a man could do openly with impunity what the traveller describes to have been done by the Persian physician of the governor of Allahabad? This governor being sickly, had in attendance upon him *eleven physicians*, one of whom was an European gentleman of education, Claudius Muelle, of Bourges. The chief favourite of the eleven was, however, a Persian; "who one day threw his wife from the top of a battlement to the ground in a fit of jealousy. He thought the fall would kill her, but she had only a few ribs broken; whereupon the kindred of the woman came and demanded justice at the feet of the governor. The governor sending for the physician, commanded him to be gone, resolving to retain him no longer in his service. The physician obeyed; and putting his poor maimed wife in a palankeen, he set forward upon the road with all his family. But he had not gone above three or four days' journey from the city, when the governor, finding himself worse than he was wont to be, sent to recall him; which the physician perceiving, stabbed his wife, his four children, and thirteen female slaves, and returned again to the Governor, who said not a word to him, but entertained him again in his service." This occurred within Tavernier's own knowledge, and about the time he visited Allahabad; and is related as by no means a very extraordinary circumstance.

CHAPTER XXII.

RENT-FREE TENURES—RIGHT OF GOVERNMENTS TO RESUME SUCH GRANTS.

On the 27th, we went on fifteen miles to Begumabad, over a sandy and level country. All the peasantry along the roads were busy watering their fields; and the singing of the man who stood at the well to tell the other who guides the bullocks when to pull, after the leather bucket had been filled at the bottom, and when to stop as it reached the top, was extremely pleasing. It is said that Janseyn, of Delhi, the most celebrated singer they have ever had in India, used to spend a great part of his time in these fields listening to the simple melodies of these water-drawers, which he learned to imitate and apply to his more finished vocal music. Popular belief ascribes to Janseyn the power of stopping the river Jumna in its course. His contemporary and rival, Brij Bowla, who, according to popular belief, could split a rock with a single note, is said to have learned

his base from the noise of the stone-mills which the women use in grinding the corn for their families. Janseyn was a Brahman from Patna, who entered the service of the Emperor Akbar, became a Mussulman, and after the service of twenty-seven years, during which he was much beloved by the Emperor and all his court, he died at Gwalior in the 34th year of the Emperor's reign. His tomb is still to be seen at Gwalior. All his descendants are said to have a talent for music, and they have all Seyn added to their names.

While Madhojie Scindheea, the Gwalior chief, was prime minister, he made the Emperor assign to his daughter, the Balabae, in jageer or rent-free tenure, ninety-five villages, rated in the imperial sunuds at three lacks of rupees a year. When the Emperor had been released from the "durance vile" in which he was kept by Dowlut Rao Scindheea, the adopted son of this chief, by the army under Lord Lake, in 1803, and the countries in which these villages were situated, taken possession of, she was permitted to retain them on condition that they were to escheat to us on her death. She died in 1834, and we took possession of the villages which now yield, it is said, four lacks of rupees a year. Begumabad was one of them. It paid to the Balabae only six hundred rupees a year, but it pays now to us six and twenty hundred rupees; but the farmers and cultivators do not pay a farthing more—the difference was taken by the favourite to

whom she assigned the duties of collection, and who always took as much as he could get from them, and paid as little as he could to her. The tomb of the old collector stood near my tents, and his son, who who came to visit it, told me, that he had heard from Gwalior, that a new Governor-general was about to arrive, who would probably order the villages to be given back, when he should be made collector of this village, as his father had been.

Had our government acted by all the rent-free lands in our territories on the same principle, they would have saved themselves a vast deal of expense, trouble, and odium. The justice of declaring all lands liable to resumption on the death of the present incumbents when not given by competent authority, for, and actually applied to the maintenance of religious, charitable, educational, or other establishments of manifest public utility, would never have been for a moment questioned by the people of India; because they would have all known, that it was in accordance with the usages of the country. If, at the same time that we declared all land liable to resumption, when not assigned by such authority and for such purposes and actually applied to them, we had declared that all grants by competent authority registered in due form before the death of the present incumbents, should be liable on their death to the payment of government of only a quarter or half the rent arising from them, it would have been universally hailed as an act of great liberality, highly

calculated to make our reign popular. As it is, we have admitted the right of former rulers of all descriptions to alienate in perpetuity the land, the principal source of the revenue of the state, in favour of their relatives, friends, and favourites, leaving upon the holders the burthen of proving, at a ruinous cost in fees and bribes, through court after court, that these alienations had been made by the authorities we declare competent, before the time prescribed; and we have thus given rise to an infinite deal of fraud, perjury, and forgery, and to the opinion, I fear, very generally prevalent, that we are anxious to take advantage of unavoidable flaws in the proof required, to trick them out of their lands by tedious judicial proceedings, while we profess to be desirous that they should retain them. In this, we have done ourselves great injustice.

Though these lands were often held for many generations under former governments, and for the exclusive benefit of the holders, it was almost always, when they were of any value, in collusion with the local authorities, who concealed the circumstances from their sovereign for a certain stipulated sum or share of the rents while they held office. This of course the holders were always willing to pay, knowing that no sovereign would hesitate much to resume the lands, should the circumstance of their holding them for their own private use alone, be ever brought to his notice. The local authorities were no doubt always willing to take a moderate share of the rent,

knowing that they would get nothing should the lands be resumed by the sovereign. Sometimes the lands granted were either at the time the grant was made, or became soon after, waste and depopulated, in consequence of invasion or internal disorders; and remaining in this state for many generations, the intervening sovereigns either knew nothing or cared nothing about the grants. Under our rule they became by degrees again cultivated and peopled; and, in consequence, valuable, not by the exertions of the rent-free holders, for they were seldom known to do anything but collect the rents; but by those of the farmers and cultivators who pay them.

When Saadut Ally Khan, the sovereign of Oude, ceded Rohilcund and other districts to the honourable Company in lieu of tribute in 1801, he resumed every inch of land held in rent-free tenure within the territories that remained with him, without condescending to assign any other reason than state necessity. The measure created a good deal of distress, particularly among the educated classes; but not so much as a similar measure would have created within our territories, because all his revenues are expended in the maintenance of establishments formed exclusively out of the members of Oude families, and retained within the country, while ours are sent to pay establishments formed and maintained at a distance; and those whose lands are resumed always find it exceedingly difficult to get employment suitable to their condition.

The face of the country between Delhi and Meerut is sadly denuded of its groves; not a grove or an avenue is to be seen anywhere, and but few fine solitary trees. I asked the people of the cause, and was told by the old men of the village, that they remembered well when the Seikh chiefs who now bask under the sunshine of our protection, used to come over at the head of dullus (bodies) of ten or twelve thousand horse each, and plunder and lay waste with fire and sword, at every returning harvest, the fine country which I now saw covered with rich sheets of cultivation, and which they had rendered a desolate waste, "without a man to make or a man to grant a petition," when Lord Lake came among them. They were, they say, looking on at a distance when he fought the battle of Delhi, and drove the Mahrattas, who were almost as bad as the Seikhs, into the Jumna river, where ten thousand of them were drowned. The people of all classes in upper India feel the same reverence as our native soldiery for the name of this admirable soldier, and most worthy man, who did so much to promote our interests and sustain our reputation in this country.

The most beautiful trees in India are the bur, (banyan,) the peepul, and the tamarind. The two first are of the fig tribe, and their greatest enemies are the elephants and camels of our public establishments and public servants, who prey upon them wherever they can find them when under the protection of their masters or keepers, who, when appealed to

generally evince a very philosophical disregard to the feeling of either property or piety involved in the trespass. It is consequently in the dryest and hottest parts of the country where the shade of these trees is most wanted, that it is least to be found; because it is there that camels thrive best, and are most kept, and it is most difficult to save such trees from their depredations.

In the evening, a trooper passed our tents on his way in great haste from Meerut to Delhi, to announce the death of the poor old Begum Sumroo, which had taken place the day before at her little capital of Sirdhannah. For five and twenty years had I been looking forward to the opportunity of seeing this very extraordinary woman, whose history had interested me more than that of any other character in India during my time; and I was sadly disappointed to hear of her death when within two or three stages of her capital.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE STATION OF MEERUT—ATALEES WHO DANCE AND SING GRATIS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR.

On the 20th, we went on twelve miles to Meerut, and encamped close to the Sooruj Kond, so called after Sooroojmul, the Jât chief of Deeg, whose tomb I have described at Goverdhun. He built here a very large tank, at the recommendation of the *spirit* of a Hindoo saint, Munohur Nath, whose remains had been burned here more than two hundred years before, and whose spirit appeared to the Jât chief in a *dream*, as he was encamped here with his army during one of his little *kingdom-taking* expeditions. This is a noble work, with a fine sheet of water, and flights of steps of pucka masonry from the top to its edge all round. The whole is kept in repair by our government. About half a mile to the north-west of the tank stands the tomb of Shah Peer, a Mahomedan saint, who is said to have descended from the moun-

tains with the Hindoo, and to have been his bosom friend up to the day of his death. Both are said to have worked many wonderful miracles among the people of the surrounding country, who used to see them, according to popular belief, quietly taking their morning ride together upon the backs of two enormous tigers, who came every morning at the appointed hour from the distant jungle! The Hindoo is said to have been very fond of music; and though he has been now dead some three centuries, a crowd of amateurs (atalees) assemble every Sunday afternoon at his shrine, on the bank of the tank, and sing gratis, and in a very pleasing style, to an immense concourse of people, who assemble to hear them, and to solicit the spirit of the old saint, softened by their melodies. At the tomb of the Mahomedan saint, a number of professional dancers and singers assemble every Thursday afternoon, and dance, sing, and play gratis to a large concourse of people, who make offerings of food to the poor, and implore the intercession of the old man with the Deity in return.

The Mahomedan's tomb is large and handsome, and built of red sandstone, inlaid with marble, but without any cupola, that there may be no *curtain* between him and heaven when he gets out of his "last long sleep" at the resurrection. Not far from his tomb is another, over the bones of a pilgrim they call "Gunjishun," or the *granary of science.* Professional singers and dancers attend it every Friday afternoon, and display their talents gratis to a large

concourse, who bestow what they can in charity to the poor, who assemble on all these occasions to take what they can get. Another much frequented tomb lies over a Mahomedan saint, who has not been dead more than three years, named Gohur Sa. He owes his canonization to a few circumstances of recent occurrence, which are, however, universally believed. Mr. Smith, an enterprising merchant of Meerut, who had raised a large windmill for grinding corn in the Sudder Buzar, is said to have abused the old man as he was one day passing by, and looked with some contempt on his method of grinding, which was to take the bread from the mouths of so many old widows. "My child," said the old saint, "amuse thyself with this toy of thine, for it has but a few days to run." In four days from that time, the machine stopped. Poor Mr. Smith could not afford to set it going again, and it went to ruin. The whole native population of Meerut considered this a miracle of Gohur Sa! Just before his death, the country round Meerut was under water, and a great many houses fell, from incessant rain. The old man took up his residence, during this time, in a large surae in the town, but finding his end approach, he desired those who had taken shelter with him, to have him taken to the jungle where he now reposes. They did so, and the instant they left the building it fell to the ground. Many who saw it, told me they had no doubt, that the virtues of the old man had sustained it while he was there, and prevented its

crushing all who were in it. The tomb was built over his remains, by a Hindoo officer of the court, who had been long out of employment, and in great affliction. He had no sooner completed the tomb, and implored the aid of the old man, than he got into excellent service, and has been ever since a happy man. He makes regular offerings to his shrine, as a grateful return for the saint's kindness to him in his hour of need. Professional singers and dancers display their talents here gratis, as at the other tombs, every Wednesday afternoon.

The ground all round these tombs is becoming crowded with the graves of people, who, in their last moments, request to be buried (Zeer i saea) under the shadow of these saints, who, in their lifetime, are all said to have despised the pomps and vanities of this life; and to have taken nothing from their disciples and worshippers but what was indispensably necessary to support existence—food being the only thing offered and accepted, and that taken only when they happened to be very hungry. Happy indeed was the man whose dish was put forward when the saint's appetite happened to be sharp! The death of the poor old Begum has, it is said, just canonized another saint, Shakir Shah, who lies buried at Sirdhanna, but is claimed by the people of Meerut, among whom he lived, till about five years ago, when he desired to be taken to Sirdhanna, where he found the old lady very dangerously ill, and not expected to live. He was himself very old

and ill when he set out from Meerut; and the journey is said to have shaken him so much, that he found his end approaching, and sent a messenger to the princess in these words: "Aea toree, chulee hum"—"thine came, but I go;" that is, "Death came for thee, but I go in thy place;" and he told those around him that she had precisely five years more to live. She is said to have caused a tomb to be built over him, and is believed by the people to have died that day five years.

All these things I learned as I wandered among the tombs of the old saints the first few evenings after my arrival at Meerut. I was interested in their history from the circumstance that amateur singers and professional dancers and musicians should display their talents at their shrines gratis, for the sake of getting alms for the poor of the place, given in their name—a thing I had never before heard of—though the custom prevails no doubt in other places; and that Mussulmans and Hindoos should join promiscuously in their devotions and charities at all these shrines. Munohur Nath's shrine, though he was a Hindoo, is attended by as many Mussulman as Hindoo pilgrims. He is said to have taken the *samád*, that is, to have buried himself alive in this place, as an offering to the Deity. Men who are afflicted with leprosy, or any other incurable disease in India, often take the samaud, that is, bury or drown themselves with due ceremonies, by which they are considered as acceptable sacrifices to the

Deity. I once knew a Hindoo gentleman, of great wealth and respectability, and of high rank, under the government of Nagpore, who came to the river Nerbudda, two hundred miles, attended by a large retinue, to *take the samaud* in due form, from a painful disease, which the doctors pronounced incurable. After taking an affectionate leave of all his family and friends, he embarked on board the boat, which took him into the deepest part of the river. He then loaded himself with sand, as a sportsman who is required to carry weights in a race loads himself with shot, and stepping into the water disappeared. The funeral ceremonies were then performed, and his family, friends, and followers returned to Nagpore, conscious that they had all done what they had been taught to consider their duty. Many poor men do the same every year when afflicted by any painful disease that they consider incurable. The only way to prevent this is to carry out the plan now in progress, of giving to India in an accessible shape the medical science of Europe—a plan first adopted under Lord W. Bentinck, prosecuted by Lord Auckland, and superintended by two able and excellent men—Doctors Goodeve and O'Shoughnessy. It will be one of the greatest blessings that India has ever received from England.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUBDIVISION OF LANDS—WANT OF GRADATIONS OF RANK—TAXES.

THE country between Delhi and Meerut is well cultivated, and rich in the latent power of its soil; but there is here, as everywhere else in the upper provinces, a lamentable want of gradations in society, from the eternal subdivision of property in land; and the want of that concentration of capital in commerce and manufactures which characterise European—or I may take a wider range, and say Christian societies. Where, as in India, the landlords' share of the annual returns from the soil has been always taken by the government as the most legitimate fund for the payment of its public establishments; and the estates of the farmers, and the holdings of the immediate cultivators of the soil, are liable to be subdivided in equal shares among the sons in every

succeeding generation, the land can never aid much directly in giving to society that, without which no society can possibly be well organised—a gradation of rank. Were the government to alter the system, to give up all the rent of the lands, and thereby convert all the farmers into proprietors of their estates, the case would not be much altered, while the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of inheritance remained the same; for the eternal subdivision would still go on, and reduce all connected with the soil to one common level; and the people would be harassed with a multiplicity of taxes, from which they are now free, that would have to be imposed to supply the place of the rent given up. The agricultural capitalists who derived their incomes from the interest of money advanced to the farmers and cultivators for subsistence and the purchase of stock, were commonly men of rank and influence in society; but they were never a numerous class. The mass of the people in India are really not at present sensible that they pay any taxes at all. The only necessary of life, whose price is at all increased by taxes, is salt, and the consumer is hardly aware of this increase. The natives never eat salted meat; and though they require a great deal of salt, living, as they do, so much on vegetable food; still they purchase it in such small quantities from day to day as they require it, that they really never think of the tax that may have been paid upon it in its progress. To understand the nature of taxation in India, an English-

man should suppose that all the non-farming landholders of his native country had, a century or two ago, consented to resign their property into the hands of their sovereign, for the maintenance of his civil functionaries, army, navy, church, and public creditors—and then suddenly disappeared from the community, leaving, to till the lands, merely the farmers and the cultivators; and that their forty millions of rent were just the sum that the government now required to pay all these four great establishments. To understand the nature of the public debt of England, a man has only to suppose one great national establishment, twice as large as those of the civil functionaries, the army, navy, and the church together, and composed of members with fixed salaries, who purchased their commissions from the "*wisdom of our ancestors*," with liberty to sell them to whom they please—who have no duty to perform for the public,* and have, like Adam and Eve, the privilege of going to "seek their place of rest" in what part of the world they please—a privilege of which they will of course be found more and more anxious to avail themselves, as taxation presses on the one side, and prohibition to the import of the necessaries of life diminishes the means of paying them on the other. The repeal of the Corn Laws may give a new lift to England—it may greatly increase the foreign de-

* They have no duty to perform as creditors; but as citizens of an enlightened nation they no doubt perform many of them, very important ones.

mand for the produce of its manufacturing industry—it may invite back a large portion of those who now spend their incomes in foreign countries, and prevent from going abroad to reside, a vast number who would otherwise go. These laws must soon be repealed, or England must greatly reduce one or other of its great establishments—the national debt, the church, the army, or the navy. The Corn Laws press upon England just in the same manner as the discovery of the passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, pressed upon Venice and the other states, whose welfare depended upon the transit of the produce of India by land. But the navigation of the Cape benefited all other European nations at the same time that it pressed upon those particular states, by giving them all the produce of India at cheaper rates than they would otherwise have got it, and by opening the markets of India to the produce of all other European nations. The Corn Laws benefit only one small section of the people of England, while they weigh, like an incubus, upon the vital energies of all the rest; and, at the same time, injure all other nations by preventing their getting the produce of manufacturing industry so cheap as they would otherwise get it. They have not, therefore, the merit of benefiting other nations, at the same time that they crush their own.

For some twenty or thirty years of our rule, too many of the collectors of our land revenue, in what we call the western provinces, sought the "bubble

reputation" in an increase of assessment upon the lands of their district every five years, when the settlement was renewed. The more the assessment was increased, the greater was the praise bestowed upon the collector by the revenue boards, or the revenue secretary to government, in the name of the Governor-General of India. These collectors found an easy mode of acquiring this reputation—they left the settlements to their native officers, and shut their ears to all complaints of grievances, till they had reduced all the landholders of their districts to one common level of beggary, without stock, character, or credit; and transferred a great portion of their estates to the native officers of their own courts through the medium of the auction sales that took place for the arrears, or pretended arrears, of revenue. A better feeling has for some years past prevailed; and collectors have sought their reputation in a real knowledge of their duties, and a real good feeling towards the farmers and cultivators of their districts. For this better tone of feeling, the western provinces are, I believe, chiefly indebted to Mr. R. M. Bird, of the revenue board, one of the most able public officers now in India. A settlement for twenty years is now in progress that will leave the farmers at least thirty-five per cent., upon the gross collections, from the immediate cultivators of the soil,*

* Fifty per cent. may be considered as the average rate left to the lessees or proprietors of estates under this new settlement; and if they take on an average one-third of the gross produce,

that is, the amount of the revenue demandable by government from the estate, will be that less than what the farmer will, and would, under any circumstances, levy from the cultivators in his detailed settlement. The farmer lets all the land of his estate out to cultivators, and takes in money this rate of profit for his expense, trouble, and risk; or he lets out to the cultivators enough to pay the government demand, and tills the rest with his own stock, rent free. When a division takes place between his sons, they either divide the estate, and become each responsible for his particular share, or they divide the profits, and remain collectively responsible to government for the whole, leaving one member of the family registered as the lessee and responsible head.

In the Ryutwar system of southern India, government officers, removable at the pleasure of the government collector, are substituted for these farmers, or more properly proprietors of estates; and a system more prejudicial to the best interests of society, could not well be devised by the ingenuity of man. It has been supposed by some theorists, who are practically unacquainted with agriculture in this or any other country, that all who have any interest in the land above the rank of cultivator, or ploughman, are mere *drones*, or useless consumers of that rent which, under judicious management, might

government takes two-ninths. But we may rate the government share of the produce actually taken at one-fifth as the maximum, and one-tenth as the minimum.

be added to the revenues of government—that all which they get might, and ought to be, either left with the cultivators or taken by the government. At the head of these is the justly celebrated historian Mr. Mill. But men who understand the subject practically, know that the intermediate agency of a farmer, who has a feeling of permanent interest in the estate, or an interest for a long period, is a thousand times better, both for the government and the people, than that of a government officer of any description, much less that of one removable at the will of the collector. Government can always get more revenue from a village under the management of the farmer; the character of the cultivators and village community generally is much better; the tillage is much better; and the produce, from more careful weeding and attention of all kinds, sells much better in the market. The better character of the cultivators enables them to get the loans they require to purchase stock, and to pay the government demand on more moderate terms from the capitalists, who rely upon the farmer, to aid in the recovery of their outlays, without reference to civil courts, which are ruinous media, as well in India as in other places. The farmer or landlord finds, in the same manner, that he can get much more from lands let out on lease to the cultivators or yeomen, who depend upon their own character, credit, and stock, than he can from similar lands cultivated with his own stock, and hired labourers can never be got to labour either so

long or so well. The labour of the Indian cultivating lessee is always applied in the proper quantity, and at the proper time and place—that of the hired field-labourer hardly ever is. The skilful coachmaker always puts on the precise quantity of iron required to make his coach strong, because he knows where it is required; his coach is, at the same time, as light as it can be, with safety. The unskilful workman either puts on too much, and makes his coach heavy; or he puts it in the wrong place, and leaves it weak.

If government extends the twenty years' settlement, now in progress, to fifty years or more, they will confer a great blessing upon the people, and they might, perhaps, do it on the condition that the incumbent consented to allow the lease to descend undivided to his heirs by the law of primogeniture. To this condition all classes would readily agree, for I have heard Hindoo and Mahomedan landholders all equally lament the evil effects of the laws by which families are so quickly and inevitably broken up; and say, "that it is the duty of government to take advantage of their power, as the great proprietor and leaser of all the lands, to prevent the evil, by declaring leases indivisable. There would then," they say, "be always one head to assist in maintaining the widows and orphans of deceased members, in educating his brothers and nephews; and by his influence and respectability, procuring employment for them." In such men, with feelings

of permanent interest in their estates, and in the stability of the government that secured them possession on such favourable terms, and with the means of educating their children, we should by-and-by find our best support, and society its best element. The law of primogeniture at present prevails only where it is most mischievous under our rule, among the feudal chiefs, whose ancestors rose to distinction, and acquired their possessions by rapine in times of invasion and civil wars. This law among them tends to perpetuate the desire to maintain those military establishments, by which the founders of their families rose, in the hope that the times of invasion and civil wars may return, and open to them a similar field for exertion. It fosters a class of powerful men, essentially and irredeemably opposed in feeling, not only to our rule, but to settled government under any rule; and the sooner the Hindoo law of inheritance is allowed by the paramount power, to take its course among these feudal chiefs, the better for society. There is always a strong tendency to it, in the desire of the younger brothers, to share in the loaves and fishes; and this tendency is checked only by the injudicious interposition of our authority.

To give India the advantage of free institutions, or all the blessings of which she is capable, under an enlightened paternal government, nothing is more essential than the supercession of this feudal aristocracy by one founded upon other bases, and, above

all, upon that of the concentration of capital in commerce and manufactures. Nothing tends so much to prevent the accumulation and concentration of capital over India, as this feudal aristocracy which tends everywhere to destroy that feeling of security without which men will nowhere accumulate and concentrate it. They do so, not only by those intrigues and combinations against the paramount power, which keep alive the dread of internal wars and foreign invasion, but by those gangs of robbers and murderers which they foster and locate upon their estates to prey upon the more favoured or better governed territories around them. From those gangs of freebooters, which are to be found upon the estate of almost every native chief, no accumulation of moveable property of any value is ever for a moment considered safe, and those who happen to have any such are always in dread of losing, not only their property, but their lives along with it, for these gangs, secure in the protection of such chief, are reckless in their attack, and kill all who happen to come in their way.

CHAPTER XXV.

MEERUT—ANGLO-INDIAN SOCIETY.

MEERUT is a large station for military and civil establishments; it is the residence of a civil commissioner, a judge, a magistrate, a collector of land revenue, and all their assistants and establishments. There are the major-general, commanding the division; the brigadier, commanding the station; four troops of horse, and a company of foot artillery. One regiment of European cavalry, one of European infantry, one of native cavalry, and three of native infantry.* It is justly considered the healthiest

* In India officers have much better opportunities, in time of peace, to learn how to handle troops than in England, from having them more concentrated in large stations, with fine open plains to exercise upon. During the whole of the cold season, from the beginning of November to the end of February, the troops are at large stations exercised in brigades, and the artillery, cavalry, and infantry together.

station in India, for both Europeans and natives, and I visited it in the latter end of the cold, which is the healthiest season of the year; yet the European ladies were looking as if they had all come out of their graves, and talking of the necessity of going off to the mountains, to renovate as soon as the hot weather should set in. They had literally been fagging *themselves to death with gaiety*, at this the gayest and most delightful of all Indian stations, during the cold months, when they ought to have been laying in a store of strength to carry them through the trying seasons of the hot winds and rains. Up every night, and all night, at balls and suppers, they could never go out to breathe the fresh air of the morning; and were looking wretchedly ill, while the European soldiers from the barracks seemed as fresh as if they had never left their native land! There is no doubt that sitting up late at night is extremely prejudicial to the health of Europeans in India. I have never seen the European, male or female, that could stand it long, however temperate in habits; and an old friend of mine once told me, that if he went to bed a little exhilarated every night at ten o'clock, and took his ride in the morning, he found himself much better than if he sat up till twelve or one o'clock without drinking, and lay a-bed in the mornings. Almost all the gay pleasures of society in India are enjoyed at night; and as ladies here, as everywhere else in Christian societies, are the life and soul of all good parties, as of all good novels, they often, to

oblige others, sit up late, much against their own inclinations, and even their judgments, aware, as they are, that they are gradually sinking under the undue exertions.

When I first came to India there were a few ladies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnstone, then between seventy and eighty years of age.* All these old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old usages. They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages; and from the time they returned, till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at this time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough; and a few who had been previously invited staid supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnstone at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor-general himself, delighted to honour

* The late Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, married this old lady's daughter. He was always very attentive to her, and she used, with feelings of great pride and pleasure, to display the contents of the boxes of millinery which he used every year to send out to her.

this old lady, the widow of a Governor-general of India, and the mother-in-law of a prime minister of England. She was at Moorshedabad when Sooruj-od-Doula marched from that place at the head of the army, that took and plundered Calcutta, and caused so many Europeans to perish in the *black hole;* and she was herself saved from becoming a member of his seraglio, or perishing with the rest, by the circumstance of her being far gone in her pregnancy, which caused her to be made over to a Dutch factory.

She had been a very beautiful woman, and had been several times married; the pictures of all her husbands being hung round her noble drawing-room in Calcutta, covered during the day with crimson cloth, to save them from the dust, and uncovered at night only on particular occasions. One evening Mrs. Crommelin, a friend of mine, pointing to one of them, asked the old lady his name. "Really I cannot at this moment tell you, my dear; my memory is very bad, (striking her forehead with her right hand, as she leaned with her left arm in Mrs. Crommelin's,) but I shall recollect in a few minutes." The old lady's last husband was a clergyman, one of the presidency chaplains, Mr. Johnstone, whom she found too gay, and persuaded to go home upon an annuity of eight hundred a year, which she settled upon him for life. The bulk of her fortune went to Lord Liverpool, the rest to her grandchildren—the Rickets, Watts, and others.

Since those days, the modes of intercourse in India have much altered. Societies at all the stations, beyond the three capitals of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, is confined almost exclusively to the members of the civil and military services, who seldom remain long at the same station—the military officers hardly ever more than three years, and the civil hardly ever so long. At disagreeable stations, the civil servants seldom remain so many months. Every new-comer calls in the forenoon upon all that are at the station when he arrives; and they return his call at the same hour soon after. If he is a married man, the married men, upon whom he has called, take their wives to call upon his; and he takes his to return the call of theirs. These calls are all indispensable; and, being made in the forenoon, become very disagreeable in the hot season: all complain of them, yet no one foregoes his claim upon them; and till the claim is fulfilled, people will not recognise each other as acquaintances. Unmarried officers generally dine in the evening, because it is a more convenient hour for the mess; and married civil functionaries do the same, because it is more convenient for their office work. If you invite those who dine at that hour to spend the evening with you, you must invite them to dinner even in the hot weather; and if they invite you, it is to dinner. This makes intercourse somewhat heavy at all times, but more especially so in the hot season, when a table covered with animal food is sickening to any person

without a keen appetite, and stupifying to those who have it. No one thinks of inviting people to a dinner and ball—it would be vandalism; and when you invite them, as is always the case, to come after dinner, the ball never begins till late at night, and seldom ends till late in the morning! With all its disadvantages, however, I think dining in the evening much better for those who are in health, than dining in the afternoon, provided people can avoid the intermediate meal of tiffin. No person in India should eat animal food more than once a day; and people who dine in the evening generally eat less than they would if they dined in the afternoon. A light breakfast at nine; biscuit, or a slice of toast with a glass of water, or soda-water, at two o'clock, and dinner, after the evening exercise, is the plan which I should recommend every European to adopt in India as the most agreeable. When their digestive powers get out of order, people must do as the doctors tell them.

There is, I believe, no society in which there is more real urbanity of manners than in that of India—a more general disposition on the part of its different members to sacrifice their own comforts and convenience to those of others, and to make those around them happy, without letting them see that it costs them an effort to do so. There is assuredly no society where the members are more generally free from those corroding cares and anxieties which "weigh upon the hearts" of men whose incomes are

precarious, and position in the world uncertain. They receive their salaries on a certain day every month, whatever may be the state of the seasons, or of trade; they pay no taxes, they rise in the several services by rotation; religious feelings and opinions are by common consent left as a question between man and his Maker; no one ever thinks of questioning another about them, nor would he be tolerated if he did so. Most people take it for granted, that those which they got from their parents were the right ones; and as such they cherish them. They remember, with feelings of filial piety, the prayers which they, in their infancy, offered to their Maker, while kneeling by the side of their mothers; and they continue to offer them up through life, with the same feelings and the same hopes.

Differences of political opinion, which agitate society so much in England and other countries, where every man believes that his own personal interests must always be more or less affected by the predominance of one party over another, are no doubt a source of much interest to people in India; but they scarcely ever excite any angry passions among them. The tempests by which the political atmosphere of the world is cleared and purged of all its morbid influences, burst not upon us—we see them at a distance—we know that they are working good for all mankind; and we feel for those who boldly expose themselves to their "pitiless peltings," as men feel for the sailors whom they suppose to be exposed on

the ocean to the storm, while they listen to it from their beds or their winter firesides. We discuss all political opinions, and all the great questions which they affect, with the calmness of philosophers; not without emotion certainly, but without passion: we have no share in returning members to parliament—we feel no dread of those injuries, indignities, and calumnies to which those who have are too often exposed; and we are free from the bitterness of feelings which always attend them. How exalted, how glorious has been the destiny of England, to spread over so vast a portion of the globe, her literature, her language, and her free institutions! How ought the sense of this high destiny to animate her sons in their efforts to perfect those institutions which they have formed by slow degrees from feudal barbarism; to make them, in reality, as perfect as they would have them appear to the world to be in theory, that rising nations may love and honour the source whence they derive theirs, and continue to look to it for improvement.

We return to the society of our wives and children after the labours of the day are over, with tempers unruffled by collision with political and religious antagonists, by unfavourable changes in the state of the seasons and the markets, and the other circumstances which affect so much the incomes and prospects of our friends at home. We must look to them for the chief pleasures of our lives, and know that they must look to us for theirs; and if anything

has crossed us we try to conceal it from them. There is in India a strong feeling of mutual dependence, that prevents little domestic misunderstandings between man and wife from growing into quarrels so often as in other countries, where this is less prevalent. Men have not here their *clubs*, nor their wives their little *coteries*, to fly to when disposed to make serious matters out of trifles; and both are in consequence much inclined to bear and forbear. There are, of course, on the other hand, evils in India that people have not to contend with at home; but, on the whole, those who are disposed to look on the fair, as well as on the dark side of all around them, can enjoy life in India very much, as long as they and those dear to them are free from physical pain. We everywhere find too many disposed to look upon the dark side of all that is present, and the bright side of all that is distant in time and place—always miserable themselves, be where they will; and making all around them miserable: this commonly arises from indigestion; and this from a habit of eating and drinking in a hot, as they would in a cold climate; and giving their stomachs too much to do, as if they were the only parts of the human frame whose energies were unrelaxed by the temperature of tropical climates. There is, however, one great defect in Anglo-Indian society; it is composed too exclusively of the servants of government, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, and wants much of the freshness, variety, and intelligence of cultivated societies other-

wise constituted. In societies where capital is concentrated for employment in large agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing establishments, those who possess and employ it, form a large portion of the middle and higher classes. They require the application of the higher branches of science to the efficient employment of their capital in almost every purpose to which it can be applied; and they require, at the same time, to show that they are not deficient in that conventional learning of the schools and drawing-rooms, to which the circles they live and move in, attach importance. In such societies we are, therefore, always coming in contact with men whose scientific knowledge is necessarily very precise, and at the same time very extensive, while their manners and conversation are of the highest polish. There is, perhaps, nothing which strikes a gentleman from India so much on his entering a society differently constituted, as the superior precision of men's information upon scientific subjects; and more especially upon that of the sciences more immediately applicable to the arts by which the physical enjoyments of man are produced, prepared, and distributed over the world. Almost all men in India feel, that too much of their time, before they left England, was devoted to the acquisition of the dead languages; and too little to the study of the elements of science. The time lost can never be regained—at least they think so, which is much the same thing. Had they been well-grounded in the

elements of physics, physiology, and chemistry, before they left their native land, they would have gladly devoted their leisure to the improvement of their knowledge; but to go back to elements, where elements can be learnt only from books, is, unhappily, what so few can bring themselves to, that no man feels ashamed of acknowledging, that he has never studied them at all, till he returns to England, or enters a society differently constituted, and finds that he has lost the support of the great majority that always surrounded him in India. It will, perhaps, be said, that the members of the official aristocracy of all countries have more or less of the same defects, for certain it is, that they everywhere attach paramount or undue importance to the conventional learning of the grammar-school and the drawing-room, and the ignorant and the indolent have perhaps everywhere the support of a great majority. Johnson has, however, observed—"But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences, which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues and excellencies of all times,

and of all places—we are perpetually moralists; but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon matter are voluntary and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergence, that one may know another half his life, without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears. Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools, that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians."—Life of Milton.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PILGRIMS OF INDIA.

THERE is nothing which strikes an European more in travelling over the great roads in India than the vast number of pilgrims of all kinds which he falls in with, particularly between the end of November, when all the autumn harvest has been gathered, and the seed of the spring crops has been in the ground. They consist, for the most, of persons, male and female, carrying Ganges water from the point at Hurdwar, where the sacred stream emerges from the hills to the different temples in all parts of India, dedicated to the gods Vishnoo and Sewa. There the water is thrown upon the stones which represent the gods, and when it falls from these stones it is called the "Chunda Mirt," or holy water, and is frequently collected and reserved to be drunk as a remedy "for a mind diseased."

This water is carried in small bottles, bearing the seals of the presiding priest at the holy place whence

it is brought. The bottles are contained in covered baskets, fixed to the ends of a pole, which is carried across the shoulder. The people who carry it are of three kinds; those who carry it for themselves as a votive offering to some shrine—those who are hired for the purpose by others as salaried servants—and, thirdly, those who carry it for sale. In the interval between the sowing and reaping of the spring crops—that is, between November and March, a very large portion of the Hindoo landholders and cultivators of India, devote their leisure to this pious duty. They take their baskets and poles with them from home, or purchase them on the road; and having poured their libations on the head of the god, and made him acquainted with their wants and wishes, return home. From November to March, three-fourths of the number of these people one meets, consist of this class. At other seasons more than three-fourths consist of the other two classes—of persons hired for the purpose as servants, and those who carry the water for sale.

One morning the old Jemadar, the marriage of whose mango grove with the jasmine I have already described, brought his two sons and a nephew to pay their respects to me on their return to Jubbulpore from a pilgrimage to Jugurnath. The sickness of the youngest, a nice boy of about six years of age, had caused this pilgrimage. The eldest son was about twenty years of age, and the nephew about eighteen.

After the usual compliments, I addressed the eldest son—"And so your brother was really very ill when you set out?"

"Very ill, sir; hardly able to stand without assistance."

"What was the matter with him?"

"It was what we call a drying up, or withering of the system."

"What were the symptoms?"

"Dysentery."

"Good. And what cured him, as he now seems quite well?"

"Our mother and father vowed five pair of baskets of Ganges water to Gujadhur, an incarnation of the god Sewa, at the temple of Byjoonath, and a visit to the temple of Jugurnath."

"And having fulfilled these vows, your brother recovered?"

"He had quite recovered, sir, before we set out on our return from Jugurnath."

"And who carried the baskets?"

"My mother, wife, cousin, myself, and little brother, all carried one pair each."

"This little boy could not surely carry a pair of baskets all the way?"

"No, sir; we had a pair of small baskets made especially for him; and when within about three miles of the temple, he got down from his little pony, took up his baskets, and carried them to the god. Up to within three miles of the temple, the

baskets were carried by a Brahman servant, whom we had taken with us to cook our food. We had with us another Brahman, to whom we had to pay only a trifle, as his principal wages were made up of fees from families in the town of Jubbulpore, who had made similar vows, and gave him so much a bottle for the water he carried in their several names to the god?"

"Did you give all your water to the Byjoonath temple, or carry some with you to Jugurnath?"

"No water is ever offered to Jugurnath, sir; he is an incarnation of Vishnoo."

"And does Vishnoo never drink?"

"He drinks, sir, no doubt; but he gets nothing but offerings of food and money."

"And what is the distance you went?"

"From this to Bindachul, or the Ganges, two hundred and thirty miles; thence to Byjoonath, a hundred and fifty miles; and thence to Jugurnath, some four or five hundred miles more."

"And your mother and wife walked all the way with their baskets?"

"All the way, sir, except when either of them got sick, when she mounted the pony with my little brother, till she felt well again."

Here were four members of a respectable family walking a pilgrimage of between twelve and fourteen hundred miles, going and coming, and carrying burthens on their shoulders for the recovery of the poor sick boy; and millions of families are every year doing

the same from all parts of India. The change of air, and exercise, cured the boy, and no doubt did them all a great deal of good; but no physician in the world, but a religious one, could have persuaded them to undertake such a journey for the same purpose.

The rest of the pilgrims we meet are for the most part of the two monastic orders of Gosaens, or the followers of Sewa, and Byragees or followers of Vishnoo, and Mahomedan Fukeers. A Hindoo of any caste may become a member of these monastic orders. They are all disciples of the high priests of the temples of their respective gods; and in their name they wander over all India, visiting the celebrated temples which are dedicated to them. A part of the revenues of these temples is devoted to subsisting these disciples as they pass; and every one of them claims the right of a day's food and lodging, or more, according to the rules of the temple. They make collections along the roads; and when they return, commonly bring back some surplus as an offering to their apostle, the high priest who has adopted them. Almost every high priest has a good many such disciples, as they are not costly: and from them returning occasionally, and from the disciples of others passing, these high priests learn everything of importance that is going on over India, and are well acquainted with the state of feeling and opinion.

What these disciples get from secular people, is

given not from feelings of charity or compassion, but as a religious or propitiatory offering; for they are all considered to be armed by their apostle with a vicarious power of blessing or cursing; and as being in themselves men of God, whom it might be dangerous to displease. They never condescend to feign disease or misery in order to excite feelings of compassion, but demand what they want with a bold front, as holy men who have a right to share liberally in the superfluities which God has given to the rest of the Hindoo community. They are in general exceedingly intelligent men of the world, and very communicative. Among them will be found members of all classes of Hindoo society; and of the most wealthy and respectable families. While I had charge of the Nursingpoor district, in 1822, a Byragee or follower of Vishnoo came, and settled himself down on the border of a village near my residence. His mild and paternal deportment pleased all the little community so much, that they carried him every day more food than he required. At last, the proprietor of the village, a very respectable old gentleman, to whom I was much attached, went out with all his family to ask a blessing of the holy man. As they sat down before him, the tears were seen stealing down over his cheeks as he looked upon the old man's younger sons and daughters. At last, the old man's wife burst into tears, ran up, and fell upon the holy man's neck, exclaiming, "My lost son! my lost son!" He was indeed her eldest son. He

had disappeared suddenly twelve years before, become a disciple of the high priest of a distant temple, and visited almost every celebrated temple in India, from Kedernath in the eternal snows, to Seet Buldee Ramesur, opposite the island of Ceylon. He remained with the family for nearly a year, delighting them and all the country around with his narratives. At last, he seemed to lose his spirits, his usual rest and appetite; and one night he again disappeared. He had been absent for some years when I last saw the family; and I know not whether he ever returned.

The real members of these monastic orders are not generally bad men; but there are a great many bad men of all kinds who put on their disguises, and under their cloak commit all kinds of atrocities. The security and convenience which the real pilgrims enjoy upon our roads, and the entire freedom from all taxation, both upon these roads, and at the different temples they visit, tend greatly to attach them to our rule, and through that attachment, a tone of good feeling towards it is generally disseminated over all India. They come from the native states, and become acquainted with the superior advantages the people under us enjoy, in the greater security of property, the greater freedom with which it is enjoyed and displayed; the greater exemption from taxation, and the odious right of search which it involves; the greater facilities for travelling in good roads and bridges; the greater respectability and in-

tegrity of public servants arising from the greater security in their tenure of office, and more adequate rate of avowed salaries; the entire freedom of the navigation of our great rivers, on which thousands and tens of thousands of laden vessels now pass from one end to the other without any one to question whence they come or whither they go. These are tangible proofs of good government, which all can appreciate; and as the European gentleman, in his rambles along the great roads, passes the lines of pilgrims, with which the roads are crowded during the cold season, he is sure to hear himself hailed with grateful shouts, as one of those who secured for them and the people generally all the blessings they now enjoy.

One day my sporting friend, the Rajah of Myhere, told me that he had been purchasing some water from the Ganges at its source, to wash the image of Vishnoo which stood in one of his temples. I asked him whether he ever drank the water after the image had been washed in it. "Yes," said he, "we all occasionally drink the Chunda Mirt." "And do you in the same manner drink the water in which the god Sewa has been washed?" "Never," said the Rajah. "And why not?" "Because his wife, Davey, one day in a domestic quarrel, cursed him, and said, 'The water which falls from thy head, shall no man henceforward drink.' From that day," said the Rajah, "no man has ever drunk of the water that washes his image, lest Davey should punish him." "And

how is it then, Rajah Sahib, that mankind continue to drink the water of the Ganges which is supposed to flow from her husband Sewa's topknot?" "Because," replied the Rajah, "this sacred river first flows from the right foot of the god Vishnoo, and thence passes over the head of Sewa. The three gods," continued the Rajah, "govern the world turn and turn about, twenty years at a time. While Vishnoo reigns, all goes on well; rain descends in good season, the harvests are abundant, and the cattle thrive. When Brahma reigns, there is little falling off in these matters; but during the twenty years that Sewa reigns, nothing goes on well—we are all at cross purposes; our crops fail, the cattle get the murrain, and mankind suffer from epidemic diseases." The Rajah was a follower of Vishnoo, as may be guessed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BEGUM SUMROO.

On the 7th February, I went out to Sirdhana and visited the church built and endowed by the late Begum Sombre, whose remains are now deposited in it. It was designed by an Italian gentleman, M. Reglioni, and is a fine but not a striking building. I met the bishop, Julius Cæsar, an Italian from Milan, whom I had known a quarter of a century before, a happy and handsome young man—he is still handsome, though old; but very miserable, because the Begum did not leave him so large a legacy as he expected. In the revenues of her church he had, she thought, quite enough to live upon; and she said, that priests, without wives or children to care about, ought to be satisfied with this; and left him only a few thousand rupees. She made him the medium of conveying a donation to the See of Rome of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees; and thereby procured for him the bishopric

of *Amartanta*, in the island of Cyprus; and got her grandson, Dyce Sombre, made a chevalier of the order of Christ, and presented with a splint from the *real cross*, as a relict.

The Begum Sombre was by birth a Squadanee, or lineal descendant from Mahomed, the founder of the Mussulman faith; and she was united to Walter Reinhard when very young, by all the forms considered necessary by persons of her persuasion when married to men of another. Reinhard had been married to another woman of the Mussulman faith, who still lives at Sirdhana,* but she had become insane, and has ever since remained so. By this first wife he had a son, who got from the Emperor the title of Zuffer Yab Khan, at the request of the Begum, his step-mother; but he was a man of weak intellect, and so little thought of, that he was not recognised even as the nominal chief on the death of his father.

Walter Reinhard was a native of Saltsburg. He enlisted as a private soldier in the French service, and came to India, where he entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the rank of serjeant. Reinhard got the soubriquet of Sombre from his comrades while in the French service, from the sombre cast of his countenance and temper. An

* This first wife died at Sirdhana, during the rainy season of 1838. She must have been above one hundred years of age; and a good many of the Europeans that lie buried in the Sirdhana cemetery, had lived above a hundred years.

Armenian, by name Gregory, of a Calcutta family, the virtual minister of Kasim Alee Khan, under the title of Gorgeen Khan, took him into his service, when the war was about to commence between his master and the English. Kasim Alee was a native of Cashmere, and not naturally a bad man; but he was goaded to madness by the injuries and insults heaped upon him by the servants of the East India Company, who were not then paid, as at present, in adequate salaries, but in profits upon all kinds of monopolies; and they would not suffer the recognised sovereign of the country in which they traded, to grant to his subjects the same exemption from the transit duties which they themselves enjoyed, as it would, they argued, tend greatly to diminish their incomes! He insisted upon the right to grant his subjects generally the same exemption that they claimed for themselves exclusively; and a war was the consequence!*

Mr. Ellis, one of these civil servants and chief of the factory at Patna, whose opinions had more

* Mill observes upon these transactions: "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record, of the power of self-interest to extinguish all sense of justice and even of shame. They had hitherto insisted, contrary to all right and all precedent, that the government of the country should exempt all their goods from duty: they now insisted that it should impose duties upon the goods of all other traders, and accused it as guilty of a breach of the peace towards the English nation, because it proposed to remit them."

weight with the council in Calcutta than all the wisdom of such men as Vansittart and Warren Hastings, because they happened to be more consonant with the personal interests of the majority, precipitately brought on the war; and assumed the direction of all military operations, of which he knew nothing, and for which he seems to have been totally unfitted by the violence of his temper. All his enterprises failed—the city and factory were captured by the enemy; and the European inhabitants taken prisoners. The Nawab, smarting under the reiterated wrongs he had received, and which he attributed mainly to the councils of Mr. Ellis, no sooner found the chief within his grasp, than he determined to have him and all who were taken with him, save a Doctor Fullerton, to whom he owed some personal obligations, put to death. His own native officers were shocked at the proposal, and tried to dissuade him from the purpose; but he was resolved; and not finding among them any willing to carry it into execution, he applied to Sumroo, who readily undertook, and with some of his myrmidons, performed the horrible duty in 1763. At the suggestion of Gregory and Sombre, Kasim Alee now attempted to take the small principality of Nepaul, as a kind of basis for his operations against the English. He had four hundred excellent rifles with flint locks and screwed barrels made at Monghere, on the Ganges, so as to fit into small boxes. These boxes were sent on upon the backs of four hundred brave volunteers for

this forlorn hope. Gregory had got a passport for the boxes, as rare merchandise for the palace of the Prince, at Katmandhoo, in whose presence alone they were to be opened. On reaching the palace at night, these volunteers were to open their boxes, screw up the barrels, destroy all the inmates, and possess themselves of the palace, where it is supposed Kasim Alee had already secured many friends. Twelve thousand soldiers had advanced to the foot of the hills, near Betteea, to support the attack; and the volunteers were in the fort of Muckwanpoor, the only strong fort between the plain and the capital. They had been treated with great consideration by the garrison, and were to set out at daylight the next morning; but one of the attendants, who had been let into the secret, got drunk, and in a quarrel with one of the garrison, told him that he should see in a few days who would be master of that garrison. This led to suspicion; the boxes were broken open, the arms discovered, and the whole of the party, except three or four, were instantly put to death; the three or four who escaped, gave intelligence to the army at Betteea, and the whole retreated upon Monghere. But for this drunken man, Nepaul had perhaps been Kasim Alee's.*

* Our troops, under Sir David Ochterlony, took the fort of Muckwanpoor in 1815, and might in five days have been before the defenceless capital; but they were here arrested by the romantic chivalry of the Marquis of Hastings. The country had been virtually conquered; the prince, by his base treachery towards

Kasim Alee Khan was beaten in several actions by our gallant little band of troops under their able leader, Colonel Adams; and at last driven to seek shelter with the Nawab, Vizier of Oude, into whose service Sumroo afterwards entered. This chief being in his turn beaten, Sumroo went off, and entered the service of the celebrated chief of Rohilcund, Hafiz Rhemut Khan. This he soon quitted from fear of the English. He raised two battalions in 1772, which he soon afterwards increased to four;

us, and outrages upon others, had justly forfeited his throne; but the Governor-general, by perhaps a misplaced lenity, left it to him without any other guarantee for his future good behaviour than the recollection that he had been soundly beaten. Unfortunately he left him at the same time a sufficient quantity of fertile land below the hills, to maintain the same army with which he had fought us, with better knowledge how to employ them, to keep us out on a future occasion. Between the attempt of Kasim Alee and our attack upon Nepaul, the Gorkha masters of the country had, by a long series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours, rendered themselves in their own opinion and in that of their neighbours, the best soldiers of India. They have of course a very natural feeling of hatred against our government, which put a stop to the wild career of conquest, and wrested from their grasp all the property, and all the pretty women from Katmandhoo to Cashmere. To those beautiful regions they were what the invading Huns were in former days to Europe, absolute friends. Had we even exacted a good road into their country with fortifications at the proper places, it might have checked the hopes of one day resuming the career of conquest that now keeps up the army and military spirit, to threaten us with a renewal of war whenever we are embarrassed on the plains.

and let out always to the highest bidder—first, to the Jât chiefs of Deeg; then to the chief of Jeypoor; then to the Nujuf Khan, the prime minister; and then to the Mahrattas. His battalions were officered by Europeans, but Europeans of respectability were unwilling to take service under a man so precariously situated, however great their necessities; and he was obliged to content himself for the most part with the very dross of society—men who could neither read nor write, nor keep themselves sober. The consequence was, that the battalions were often in a state of mutiny, committing every kind of outrage upon the persons of their officers; and at all times in a state of insubordination bordering on mutiny. These battalions seldom obtained their pay till they put their commandant into confinement, and made him dig up his hidden stores if he had any, or borrow from bankers if he had none. If the troops felt pressed for time, and their commander was of the necessary character, they put him astride upon a hot gun without his trowsers. When one battalion had got its pay out of him in this manner, he was often handed over to another for the same purpose. The poor old Begum had been often subjected to the starving stage of this proceeding before she came under our protection; but had never, I believe, been *grilled* upon a gun! It was a rule, it is said, with Sombre, to enter the field of battle in column at the *safest point*; form line facing the enemy, fire a few rounds in the direction where they

stood, without regard to the distance or effect ; form square, and *await the course of events.* If victory declared for the enemy, he sold his unbroken force to him to great advantage; if for his friends, he assisted them in collecting the plunder, and securing all the advantages of the victory. To this *prudent* plan of action, his corps always afterwards steadily adhered; and they never took or lost a gun till they came in contact with our forces at Adjuntee and Assye.

Sombre died at Agra, on the 4th May, 1778, and his remains were at first buried in his garden. They were afterwards removed to consecrated ground, in the Agra churchyard by his widow, the Begum, who was baptized, at the age of forty, by a Roman Catholic priest, under the name of Joanna, on the 7th of May, 1781. On the death of her husband, she was requested to take command of the force by all the Europeans and natives that composed it, as the only possible mode of keeping them together, since the son was known to be altogether unfit. She consented, and was regularly installed in the charge by the Emperor Shah Alum. Her chief officer was a Mr. Pauly, a German, who soon after took an active part in providing the poor imbecile old Emperor with a prime minister; and got himself assassinated on the restoration, a few weeks after, of his rival. The troops continued in the same state of insubordination; and the Begum was anxious for an opportunity to show that she was determined to be obeyed.

While she was encamped with the army of the prime minister of the time at Muttra, news was one day brought to her, that two slave girls had set fire to her houses at Agra, in order that they might make off with their paramours, two soldiers of the guard she had left in charge. These houses had thatched roofs, and contained all her valuables, and the widows, wives, and children of her principal officers. The fire had been put out with much difficulty, and great loss of property; and the two slave girls were soon after discovered in the bazaar at Agra, and brought out to the Begum's camp. She had the affair investigated in the usual summary form; and their guilt being proved to the satisfaction of all present, she had them flogged till they were senseless, and then thrown into a pit dug in front of her tent for the purpose, and buried alive. I had heard this story related in different ways, and I now took pains to ascertain the truth; and this short narration may, I believe, be relied upon. An old Persian merchant, called the Aga, still resided at Sirdhana, to whom I knew that one of the slave girls belonged. I visited him, and he told me, that his father had been on intimate terms with Sombre, and when he died his mother went to live with his widow, the Begum—that his slave girl was one of the two—that his mother at first protested against her being taken off to the camp, but became, on inquiry, satisfied of her guilt—and that the Begum's object was to make a strong impression upon the turbulent

spirit of her troops by a severe example. "In this object," said the old Aga, "she entirely succeeded; and for some years after her orders were implicitly obeyed; had she faltered on that occasion, she must have lost the command—she would have lost that respect, without which it would have been impossible for her to retain it a month. I was then a boy; but I remember well, that there were, besides my mother and sisters, many respectable females that would have rather perished in the flames than come out to expose themselves to the crowd that assembled to see the fires; and had the fires not been put out, a great many lives must have been lost—besides, there were many old people and young children who could not have escaped." The old Aga was going off to take up his quarters at Delhi when this conversation took place; and I am sure, that he told me what he thought to be true. This narrative corresponded exactly with that of several other old men from whom I had heard the story. It should be recollected, that among natives, there is no particular mode of execution prescribed for those who are condemned to die: nor, in a camp like this, any court of justice save that of the commander, in which they could be tried, and, supposing the guilt to have been established, as it is said to have been to the satisfaction of the Begum and the principal officers, who were all Europeans and Christians, perhaps the punishment was not much greater than the crime deserved, and the occasion demanded. But it is possible, that the

slave girls may not have set fire to the buildings, but merely availed themselves of the occasion of the fire, to run off; indeed, slave girls are under so little restraint in India, that it would be hardly worth while for them to burn down a house to get out. I am satisfied, that the Begum believed them guilty; and that the punishment, horrible as it was, was merited. It certainly had the desired effect. My object has been to ascertain the truth in this case, and to state it, and not to eulogise or defend the old Begum.

After Pauly's death, the command of the troops under the Begum, devolved successively upon Badurs, Evans, Dudrenee, who, after a short time, all gave it up in disgust at the beastly habits of the European subalterns; and the overbearing insolence to which they and the want of regular pay gave rise among the soldiers. At last the command devolved upon Monsieur Le Vassoult, a French gentleman of birth, education, gentlemanly deportment, and honourable feelings. The battalions had been increased to six, with their due proportion of guns and cavalry; part resided at Sirdhana, her capital, and part at Delhi, in attendance upon the Emperor. A very extraordinary man entered her service about the same time with Le Vassoult, George Thomas, who, from a quarter-master on board a ship, raised himself to a principality in northern India. Thomas on one occasion raised his mistress in the esteem of the Emperor and the people by breaking through the old rule of central squares; gallantly leading on his

troops, and rescuing his majesty from a perilous situation in one of his battles with a rebellious subject, Nujuf Coolee Khan, where the Begum was present in her palankeen, and reaped all the laurels, being from that day called "the most beloved daughter of the Emperor." As his best chance of securing his ascendency against such a rival, Le Vassoult proposed marriage to the Begum, and was accepted. She was married to Le Vassoult by father Gregorio, a Carmelite monk, in 1793, before Suleur and Bernier, two French officers of great merit. George Thomas left her service in consequence, in 1793, and set up for himself; and was afterwards crushed by the united armies of the Seikhs and Mahrattas, commanded by European officers, after he had been recognised as a general officer by the Governor-general of India. George Thomas had latterly twelve small disciplined battalions officered by Europeans. He had good artillery, cast his own guns, and was the first person that applied iron calibres to brass cannon. He was unquestionably a man of very extraordinary military genius, and his ferocity and recklessness as to the means he used, were quite in keeping with the times. His revenues were derived from the Seikh states, which he had rendered tributary; and he would probably soon have been sovereign of them all in the room of Runjeet Sing, had not the jealousy of Peron and other French officers in the Mahratta army interposed.

The Begum tried in vain to persuade her husband

to receive all the European officers of the corps at his table as gentlemen, urging that not only their domestic peace, but their safety among such a turbulent set, required that the character of these officers should be raised if possible, and their feelings conciliated. Nothing, he declared, should ever induce him to sit at table with men of such habits; and they at last determined, that no man should command them who would not condescend to do so. Their insolence, and that of the soldiers generally, became at last unbearable; and the Begum determined to go off with her husband, and seek an asylum in the honourable Company's territory with the little property she could command, of one hundred thousand rupees in money, and her jewels, amounting perhaps in value to one hundred thousand more. Le Vassoult did not understand English; but with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary he was able to communicate her wishes to Colonel M'Gowan, who commanded at that time, 1795, an advanced post of our army at Anoopshehur, on the Ganges. He proposed that the colonel should receive them in his cantonments, and assist them in their journey thence to Furuckabad, where they wished in future to reside, free from the cares and anxieties of such a charge. The colonel had some scruples, under the impression, that he might be censured for aiding in the flight of a public officer of the Emperor. He now addressed the Governor-general of India, Sir John Shore himself, April,

1795, who requested Major Palmer, our accredited agent with Scindeea, who was then encamped near Delhi, and holding the seals of prime minister of the empire, to interpose his good offices in favour of the Begum and her husband. Scindeea demanded twelve lacks of rupees as the price of the privilege she solicited to retire; and the Begum, in her turn, demanded over and above the privilege of resigning the command into his hands, the sum of four lacks of rupees as the price of the arms and accoutrements which had been provided at her own cost and that of her late husband. It was at last settled, that she should resign the command, and set out secretly with her husband; and that Scindeea should confer the command of her troops upon one of his own officers, who would pay the son of Sombre two thousand rupees a month for life. Le Vassoult was to be received into our territories, treated as a prisoner of war upon his parole, and permitted to reside with his wife at the French settlement of Chandernagore. His last letter to Sir John Shore is dated the 30th April, 1795. His last letters describing this final arrangement are addressed to Mr. Even, a French merchant at Mirzapore, and a Mr. Bernier, both personal friends of his, and are dated 18th of May, 1795.

The battalions on duty at Delhi got intimation of this correspondence, made the son of Sombre declare himself their legitimate chief, and march at their head to seize the Begum and her husband.

Le Vassoult heard of their approach, and urged the Begum to set out with him at midnight for Anoopshehur, declaring, that he would rather destroy himself than submit to the personal indignities which he knew would be heaped upon him by the infuriated ruffians who were coming to seize them. The Begum consented, declaring, that she would put an end to her life with her own hand should she be taken. She got into her palankeen with a dagger in her hand, and as he had seen her determined resolution and proud spirit before exerted on many trying occasions, he doubted not that she would do what she declared she would. He mounted his horse and rode by the side of her palankeen, with a pair of pistols in his holsters, and a good sword by his side. They had got on so far as Kabree, about three miles from Sirdhana, on the road to Meerut, when they found the battalions from Sirdhana, who had got intimation of the flight, gaining fast upon the palankeen. Le Vassoult asked the Begum, whether she remained firm in her resolve to die rather than submit to the indignities that threatened them. "Yes," replied she, showing him the dagger firmly grasped in her right hand. He drew a pistol from his holster without saying anything, but urged on the bearers. He could have easily galloped off and saved himself, but he would not quit his wife's side. At last, the soldiers came up close behind them. The female attendants of the Begum began to scream; and looking in, Le Vassoult saw the white cloth that

covered the Begum's breast stained with blood. She had stabbed herself, but the dagger had struck against one of the bones of her chest, and she had not courage to repeat the blow. Her husband put his pistol to his temple, and fired. The ball passed through his head, and he fell dead on the ground. One of the soldiers who saw him, told me, that he sprung at least a foot off the saddle into the air as the shot struck him! His body was treated with every kind of insult by the European officers and their men; and the Begum was taken back into Sirdhana, kept under a gun for seven days, deprived of all kinds of food, save what she got by stealth from her female servants, and subjected to all manner of insolent language.

At last the officers were advised by George Thomas, who had instigated them to this violence out of pique against the Begum, for her preference of the Frenchman, to set aside their puppet, and reseat the Begum in the command, as the only chance of keeping the territory of Sirdhana. "If," said he, the Begum should die under the torture of mind and body to which you are subjecting her, the minister will very soon resume the lands assigned for your payment; and disband a force so disorderly, and so little likely to be of any use to him or the Emperor." A counsel of war was held—the Begum was taken out from under the gun, and reseated upon her musnud. A paper was drawn up by about thirty European officers, of whom only one, Monsieur

Saleur, could sign his own name, swearing, in the name of God and Jesus Christ,* that they would henceforward obey her with all their hearts and souls, and recognise no other person whomsoever as commander. They all affixed their seals to this *covenant;* but some of them, to show their superior learning, put their initials, or what they used as such, for some of these *learned Thebans* knew only two or three letters of the alphabet, which they put down, though they happened not to be their real initials. An officer on the part of Scindeea, who was to have commanded these troops, was present at this reinstallation of the Begum, and glad to take, as a compensation for his disappointment, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, which the Begum contrived to borrow for him.

The body of poor Le Vassoult was brought back to camp, and there lay several days unburied, and exposed to all kinds of indignities. The supposition that this was the result of a plan formed by the Begum to get rid of Le Vassoult is, I believe, unfounded. The Begum herself gave some colour of truth to the report, by retaining the name of her

* The paper was written by a Mahomedan, and he would not write Christ *the Son of God*—it is written—"In the name of God, and his Majesty Christ." The Mahomedans look upon Christ as the greatest of prophets before Mahomed; but the most binding article of their faith is this from the Koran, which they repeat every day: "I believe in God who was never begot, nor has ever begotten, nor will ever have an equal," alluding to the Christians' belief in the Trinity.

first husband, Sombre, to the last, and never publicly or formally declaring her marriage with Le Vassoult after his death. The troops in this mutiny pretended nothing more than a desire to vindicate the honour of their old commander Sombre, which had, they said, been compromised by the illicit intercourse between Le Vassoult and his widow. She had not dared to declare the marriage to them lest they should mutiny on that ground, and deprive her of the command; and for the same reason she retained the name of Sombre after her restoration, and remained silent on the subject of her second marriage. The marriage was known only to a few European officers, Sir John Shore, Major Palmer, and the other gentlemen with whom Le Vassoult corresponded. Some grave old native gentlemen, who were long in her service, have told me that they believed "there really was too much of truth in the story which excited the troops to mutiny on that occasion, her too great intimacy with the gallant young Frenchman. God forgive them for saying so of a lady whose salt they had eaten for so many years." Le Vassoult made no mention of the marriage to Colonel M'Gowan; and from the manner in which he mentions it to Sir John Shore, it is clear that he or she, or both, were anxious to conceal it from the troops and from Scindeea before their departure. She stipulated in her will, that her heir, Mr. Dyce, should take the name of Sombre, as if she wished to have the little episode of her second marriage forgotten.

After the death of Le Vassoult, the command devolved on Monsieur Saleur, a Frenchman, the only respectable officer who signed the covenant: he had taken no active part in the mutiny; on the contrary, he had done all he could to prevent it; and he was at last, with George Thomas, the chief means of bringing his brother officers back to a sense of their duty. Another battalion was added to the four in 1797, and another raised in 1798 and in 1802; five of the six marched under Colonel Saleur to the Deccan with Scindeea. They were in a state of mutiny the whole way, and utterly useless as auxiliaries, as Saleur himself declared in many of his letters written in French, to his mistress the Begum. At the battle of Assye, four of these battalions were left in charge of the Mahratta camps. One was present in the action, and lost its four guns. Soon after the return of these battalions, the Begum entered into an alliance with the British government; the force then consisted of these six battalions, a party of artillery served chiefly by Europeans, and two hundred horse. She had a good arsenal well stored, and a foundry for cannon, both within the walls of a small fortress, built near her dwelling at Sirdhana. The whole cost her about four lacks of rupees a year; her civil establishments eighty thousand, her pensioners sixty, and her household establishments and expenses about the same; total, six lacks of rupees a year. The revenues of Sirdhana, and the other lands assigned at different times for the payment of

this force, had been at no time more than sufficient to cover these expenses; but under the protection of our government they improved with the extension of tillage, and the improvements of the surrounding markets for produce, and she was enabled to give largely to the support of religious and charitable institutions, and to provide handsomely for the support of her family and pensioners after her death.

Sombre's son, Zuffer Yabkhan, had a daughter who was married to Colonel Dyce, who had for some time the management of the Begum's affairs; but he lost her favour long before her death, by his violent temper and overbearing manners, and was obliged to resign the management to his son, who, on the Begum's death, came in for the bulk of her fortune, or about sixty lacks of rupees. He has two sisters who were brought up by the Begum, one married to Captain Troup, an Englishman, and the other to Mr. Sobroli, an Italian, both very worthy men. Their wives have been handsomely provided for by the Begum and by their brother who trebled the fortunes left to them by the Begum. She built an excellent church at Sirdhana, and assigned the sum of one hundred thousand rupees as a fund to provide for its service and repairs; fifty thousand rupees as another for the poor of the place; and one hundred thousand as a third, for a college in which Roman Catholic priests might be educated for the benefit of India generally. She sent to Rome one hundred and fifty

thousand rupees, to be employed as a charity fund, at the discretion of the Pope; and to the Archbishop of Canterbury she sent fifty thousand for the same purpose. She gave to the Bishop of Calcutta one hundred thousand rupees to provide teachers for the poor of the Protestant church in Calcutta. She sent to Calcutta for distribution to the poor, and for the liberation of deserving debtors, fifty thousand. To the Catholic missions at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, she gave one hundred thousand; and to that of Agra thirty thousand. She built a handsome chapel for the Roman Catholics at Meerut; and presented the fund for its support, with a donation of twelve thousand: and she built a chapel for the church missionary at Meerut, the Reverend Mr. Richards, at a cost of ten thousand, to meet the wants of the native Protestants.

Among all who had opportunities of knowing her, she bore the character of a kind-hearted, benevolent, and good woman; and I have conversed with men capable of judging, who had known her for more than fifty years. She had uncommon sagacity, and a masculine resolution; and the Europeans and natives who were most intimate with her, have told me, that though a woman and of small stature, her *Rooab* (dignity, or power of commanding personal respect) was greater than that of almost any person they had ever seen. From the time she put herself under the protection of the British government, in 1803, she by degrees adopted the European modes of social in-

tercourse, appearing in public on an elephant, in a carriage, and occasionally on horseback with her hat and veil; and dining at table with gentlemen. She often entertained governors-general and commanders-in-chief, with all their retinues, and sat with them and their staff at table, and for some years past kept an open house for the society of Meerut; but in no situation did she lose sight of her dignity. She retained to the last the grateful affections of the thousands who were supported by her bounty, while she never ceased to inspire the most profound respect in the minds of those who every day approached her, and were on the most unreserved terms of intimacy.

Lord William Bentinck was an excellent judge of character; and the following letter will show how deeply his visit to that part of the country had impressed him with a sense of her extensive usefulness.

TO HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM SUMROO.

My esteemed Friend,—I cannot leave India without expressing the sincere esteem I entertain for your highness's character. The benevolence of disposition and extensive charity which have endeared you to thousands, have excited in my mind sentiments of the warmest admiration; and I trust that you may yet be preserved for many years, the solace of the orphan and widow, and the sure resource of

your numerous dependants. To-morrow morning I embark for England; and my prayers and best wishes attend you, and all others who, like you, exert themselves for the benefit of the people of India.

I remain,
With much consideration,
Your sincere Friend,
(Signed) M. W. BENTINCK.

Calcutta, March 17th, 1835.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON THE SPIRIT OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA.

ABOLITION OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT—INCREASE OF PAY WITH LENGTH OF SERVICE—PROMOTION BY SENIORITY.

THE following observations, on a very important and interesting subject, were not intended to form a portion of the present work. They serve to illustrate, however, many passages in the foregoing chapters, touching the character of the natives of India; and the Affghan war having occurred since co they were written, I cannot deny myself the gratifi- the ation of presenting them to the public, since the its ourage and fidelity, which it was my object to show hour British government had a right to expect from I ha ative troops, and might always rely upon in the of need, have been so nobly displayed.

d one morning (November 14th, 1838) a visit

from the senior native officer of my regiment, Seikh Mahoobalee, a very fine old gentleman, who had recently attained the rank of "*Sirdar Bahadoor*," and been invested with the new "Order of British India." He entered the service at the age of fifteen, and had served fifty-three years with great credit to himself, and fought in many an honourable field. He had come over to Jubbulpore as president of a native general court-martial; and paid me several visits, in company with another old officer of my regiment, who was a member of the same court. The following is one of the many conversations I had with him, taken down as soon as he left me.

"What do you think, Sirdar Bahadoor, of the order prohibiting corporal punishment in the army; has it had a bad or good effect?"

"It has had a very good effect."

"What good has it produced?"

"It has reduced the number of courts-martial to one quarter of what they were before, and thereby lightened the duties of the officers; it has made the good men more careful, and the bad men more orderly, than they used to be."

"How has it produced this effect?"

"A bad man formerly went on recklessly from small offences to great ones, in the hope of impunity; he knew that no regimental, cantonment, or brigade court-martial could sentence him to be dismissed the service; and that they would not sentence him to be flogged, except for great crimes, because it involved,

at the same time, dismissal from the service. If they sentenced him to be flogged, he still hoped that the punishment would be remitted. The general or officer confirming the sentence, was generally unwilling to order it to be carried into effect, because the man must, after being flogged, be turned out of our service, and the marks of the lash upon his back would prevent his getting service anywhere else. Now he knows that these courts can sentence him to be dismissed from the service—that he is liable to lose his bread for ordinary transgressions; and be sentenced to work on the roads in irons for graver ones. He is, in consequence, much more under restraint than he used to be."

"And how has it tended to make the well-disposed more careful?"

"They were formerly liable to be led into errors by the example of the bad men, under the same hope of impunity; but they are now more on their guard. They have all relations among the native officers, who are continually impressing upon them the necessity of being on their guard, lest they be sent back upon their families—their mothers and fathers, wives and children—as beggars. To be dismissed from a service like that of the Company is a very great punishment; it subjects a man to the odium and indignation of all his family. When in the Company's service his friends know that a soldier gets his pay regularly, and can afford to send home a very large portion of it. They expect that he will

do so; he feels that they will listen to no excuse and he contracts habits of sobriety and prudence. If a man gets into the service of a native chief, his friends know that his pay is precarious; and they continue to maintain his family for many years without receiving a remittance from him, in the hope that his circumstances may some day improve. He contracts bad habits, and is not ashamed to make his appearance among them, knowing that his excuses will be received as valid. If one of the Company's sipahees were not to send home remittances for six months, some members of the family would be sent to know the reason why. If he could not explain, they would appeal to the native officers of the regiment, who would expostulate with him; and if all failed, his wife and children would be turned out of his father's house, unless they knew that he was gone to the wars; and he would be ashamed ever to show his face among them again."

"And the gradual increase of pay, with length of service, has tended to increase the value of the service, has it not?"

"It has, very much: there are in our regiment, out of eight hundred men, more than one hundred and fifty sipahees who get the increase of two rupees a month, and the same number that get the increase of one. This they feel as an immense addition to the former seven rupees a month. A prudent sipahee lives upon two, or at the utmost three rupees a month, in seasons of moderate plenty; and sends all the rest

to his family. A great number of the sipahees of our regiment live upon the increase of two rupees, and send all their former seven to their families. The dismissal of a man from such a service as this, distresses not only him, but all his relations in the higher grades, who know how much of the comfort and happiness of his family depend upon his remaining and advancing in it; and they all try to make their young friends behave as they ought do do."

"Do you think that a great portion of the native officers of the army have the same feelings and opinions on the subject as you have?"

"They have all the same; there is not, I believe, one in a hundred that does not think as I do upon the subject. Flogging was an odious thing. A man was disgraced, not only before his regiment, but before the crowd that assembled to witness the punishment. Had he been suffered to remain in the regiment, he could never have hoped to rise after having been flogged, or sentenced to be flogged; his hopes were all destroyed, and his spirit broken; and the order directing him to be dismissed was good; but, as I have said, he lost all hope of getting into any other service, and dared not show his face among his family at home."

"You know who ordered the abolition of flogging?"

"Lord Bentinck." *

* General orders by the Commander-in-Chief, of the 5th of January, 1797, declare that no sipahee or trooper of our native

"And you know that it was at his recommendation the honourable Company gave the increase of pay, with length of service?"

army shall be dismissed from the service by the sentence of any but a general court-martial. General orders by the Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, of the 19th of March, 1827, declare that his excellency is of opinion that the quiet and orderly habits of the native soldiers are such, that it can very seldom be necessary to have recourse to the punishment of flogging, which might be almost entirely abolished, with great advantage to their character and feelings; and directs that no native soldier shall in future be sentenced to corporal punishment unless for the crime of *stealing, marauding,* or *gross insubordination,* where the individuals are deemed unworthy to continue in the ranks of the army. No such sentence by a regimental, detachment, or brigade court-martial was to be carried into effect till confirmed by the general officer commanding the division. When flogged the soldier was invariably to be discharged from the service.

A circular letter from the Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, of the 16th of June, 1827, directs, that sentence to corporal punishment is not to be restricted to the three crimes of *theft, marauding,* and *gross insubordination;* but that it is not to be awarded, except for very serious offence against discipline, or actions of a disgraceful or infamous nature, which show those who committed them to be unfit for the service; that the officer who assembles the court may remit the sentence of corporal punishment, and the dismissal involved in it; but cannot carry it into effect till confirmed by the officer commanding the division, except when an immediate example is indispensably necessary, as in the case of plundering and violence on the part of soldiers in the line of march. In all cases the soldier who has been flogged must be dismissed.

A circular letter by the Commander-in-chief, Sir E. Barnes,

"We have heard so; and we feel towards him as we felt towards Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Lake."

"Do you think the army would serve again now

2nd of November, 1832, dispenses with the duty of submitting the sentence of regimental, detachment, and brigade courts-martial for confirmation to the general officer commanding the division; and authorises the officer who assembles the court, to carry the sentence into effect without reference to higher authority; and to mitigate the punishment awarded, or remit it altogether; and to order the dismissal of the soldier who has been sentenced to corporal punishment, though he should remit the flogging, "for it may happen, that a soldier may be found guilty of an offence which renders it improper that he should remain any longer in the service, although the general conduct of the men has been such, that an example is unnecessary; or he may have relations in the regiment of excellent character, upon whom some part of the disgrace would fall if he were flogged." Still no court-martial but a general one could sentence a soldier to be simply dismissed! To secure his dismissal, they must first sentence him to be flogged!

On the 24th of February, 1835, the Governor-General of India in council, Lord William Bentinck, directed "that the practice of punishing soldiers of the native army by the cat-o'-nine-tails, or rattan, be discontinued at all the presidencies; and that henceforth it shall be competent to any regimental, detachment, or brigade court-martial, to sentence a soldier of the native army to dismissal from the service for any offence for which such soldier might now be punished by flogging, provided such sentence of dismissal shall not be carried into effect unless confirmed by the general or other officer commanding the division."

For crimes involving higher penalties, soldiers were, as heretofore, committed for trial before general courts-martial.

with the same spirit as they served under Lor Lake?"

"The army would go to any part of the world to serve such masters—no army had ever masters that cared for them like ours. We never asked to have flogging abolished; nor did we ever ask to have an increase of pay with length of service; and yet both have been done for us by the Company Bahadoor!"

The old Sirdar Bahadoor came again to visit me on the 1st of December, with all the native officers who had come over from Saugor to attend the court, seven in number. There were three very smart, sensible men among them; one of whom had been as a volunteer at the capture of Java, and the other at that of the Isle of France. They all told me that they considered the abolition of corporal punishment a great blessing to the native army. "Some bad men who had already lost their character; and, consequently, all hope of promotion, might be in less dread than before; but they were very few; and their regiments would soon get rid of them under the new law, that gave the power of dismissal to regimental courts-martial."

"But I find the European officers are almost all of opinion that the abolition of flogging has been, or will be, attended with bad consequences?"

"They, sir, apprehend that there will not be sufficient restraint upon the loose characters of the regiment; but now that the sipahees have got an in-

crease of pay in proportion to length of service, there will be no danger of that. Where can they ever hope to get such another service, if they forfeit that of the Company? If the dread of losing such a service is not sufficient to keep the bad in order, that of being put to work upon the roads in irons will. The good can always be kept in order by lighter punishments, when they have so much at stake, as the loss of such a service by frequent offences. Some gentlemen think that a soldier does not feel disgraced by being flogged, unless the offence for which he has been flogged is in itself disgraceful. There is no soldier, sir, that does not feel disgraced by being tied up to the halberts, and flogged in the face of all his comrades, and the crowd that may choose to come and look at him: the Sipahees are all of the same respectable families as ourselves; and they all enter the service in the hope of rising in time to the same stations as ourselves, if they conduct themselves well —their families look forward with the same hope. A man who has been tied up and flogged knows the disgrace that it will bring upon his family, and will sometimes rather die than return to it; indeed, as head of a family, he could not be received at home.*

* The funeral obsequies, which are everywhere offered up to the manes of parents by the surviving head of the family during the first fifteen days of the month of *Kooar*, (September,) were never considered as acceptable from the hands of a soldier in our service who had been tied up and flogged, whatever might have

But men do not feel disgraced in being flogged with a rattan at drill. While at the drill they consider themselves, and are considered by us all, as in the relation of *scholars* to their *school-masters*. Doing away with the rattan at the drill had a very bad effect! Young men were formerly, with the judicious use of the rattan, made fit to join the regiment at furthest in six months; but since the abolition of the rattan it takes twelve months to make them fit to be seen in the ranks. There was much virtue in the rattan; and it should never have been given up. We have all been flogged with the rattan at the drill, and never felt ourselves disgraced by it—we were *shagrids*, (scholars,) and the drill-serjeant, who had the rattan, was our *oustad*, (school-master;) but when we left the drill, and took our station in the ranks as Sipahees, the case was altered, and we should have felt disgraced by a flogging, whatever might have been the nature of the offence we committed. The drill will never get on so well as it used to do, unless the rattan be called into use again; but we apprehend no evil from the abolition of corporal punishment afterwards. People are apt to attribute to this abolition offences that have nothing to do with it; and for which ample punish-

been the nature of the offence for which he was punished; any head of a family so flogged lost, by that punishment, the most important of his civil rights—that indeed upon which all the others hinged, for it is by presiding at the funeral ceremonies that the head of the family secures and maintains his recognition.

ments are still provided. If a man fires at his officer, people are apt to say, it is because flogging has been done away with; but a man who deliberately fires at his officer, is prepared to undergo worse punishments than flogging!"*

"Do you not think that the increase of pay with length of service to the Sipahees, will have a good effect in tending to give to regiments more active and intelligent native officers? Old Sipahees who are not so, will now have less cause to complain if passed over, will they not?"

"If the Sipahees thought that the increase of pay was given with this view, they would rather not have it at all. To pass over men merely because they happen to have grown old, we consider very cruel and unjust. They all enter the service young, and go on doing their duty till they become old, in the

* The worst features of this abolition measure is unquestionably the odious distinction which it leaves in the punishments to which our European and our native soldiers are liable, since the British legislature does not consider that it can be safely abolished in the British army. This odious distinction might be easily removed by an enactment, declaring that European soldiers in India should be liable to corporal punishment for only two offences;—1st, mutiny or gross insubordination; 2nd, plunder or violence while the regiment or force to which the prisoner belongs is in the field, or marching. The same enactment might declare the soldiers of our native army liable to the same punishments for the same offences. Such an enactment would excite no discontent among our native soldiery; on the contrary, it would be applauded as just and proper.

hope that they shall get promotion when it comes to their turn. If they are disappointed, and young men, or greater favourites with their European officers, are put over their heads, they become heart-broken! We all feel for them, and are always sorry to see an old soldier passed over, unless he has been guilty of any manifest crime, or neglect of duty. He has always some relations among the native officers, who know his family, for we all try to get our relations into the same regiment with ourselves, when they are eligible. They know what that family will suffer, when they learn that he has no longer any hopes of rising in the service, and has become miserable. Supercessions create distress and bad feelings throughout a regiment, even when the best men are promoted, which cannot always be the case; for the greatest favourites are not always the best men. Many of our old European officers, like yourself, are absent on staff or civil employments; and the command of companies often devolves upon very young subalterns, who know little or nothing of the character of their men. They recommend those whom they have found most active and intelligent, and believe to be the best; but their opportunities of learning the characters of the men have been few. They have seen and observed the young, active, and forward; but they often know nothing of the steady, unobtrusive old soldier, who has done his duty ably in all situations, without placing himself prominently forward in any. The

commanding officers seldom remain long with the same regiment; and, consequently, seldom know enough of the men to be able to judge of the justice of the selections for promotion. Where a man has been guilty of a crime, or neglected his duty, we feel no sympathy for him, and are not ashamed to tell him so, and put him down (*kaelkur-hin*) when he complains."

Here the old Soobadar, who had been at the taking of the Isle of France, mentioned, that when he was the senior Jemadar of his regiment, and a vacancy had occurred to bring him in as Soobadar, he was sent for by his commanding officer, and told, that by orders from head-quarters he was to be passed over, on account of his advanced age, and supposed infirmity. "I felt," said the old man, "as if I had been struck by lightning; *and fell down dead!* The colonel was a good man, and had seen much service. He had me taken into the open air; and when I recovered, he told me that he would write to the Commander-in-chief, and represent my case. He did so immediately, and I was promoted; and I have since done my duty as Soobadar for ten years."

The Sirdar Bahadoor told me, that only two men in our regiment had been that year superseded, one for *insolence*, and the other for neglect of duty; and that officers and sipahees were all happy in consequence—the young, because they felt more secure of being promoted if they did their duty; and the old, because they felt an interest in the welfare of

their young relations. "In those regiments," said he, "where supercessions have been more numerous, old and young are dispirited, and unhappy. They all feel that the *good old rule of right, (huk,)* as long as a man does his duty well, can no longer be relied upon."

When two companies of my regiment passed through Jubbulpore, a few days after this conversation, on their way from Saugor to Seonee, I rode out a mile or two to meet them. They had not seen me for sixteen years; but almost all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers were personally known to me. They were all very glad to see me, and I rode along with them to their place of encampment, where I had ready a feast of sweetmeats. They liked me as a young man, and are, I believe, proud of me as an old one. Old and young spoke, with evident delight, of the rigid adherence, on the part of the present commanding officer, Colonel Presgrave, to the good old rule of *huk* (right) in the recent promotions to the vacancies occasioned by the annual transfer to the invalid establishment. We might, no doubt, have in every regiment a few smarter native officers by disregarding this rule, than by adhering to it; but we should, in the diminution of the good feeling towards the European officers and the government, lose a thousand times more than we gained. They now go on from youth to old age, from the drill to the retired pension, happy and satisfied that there is no service on

earth so good for them. With admirable *moral*, but little or no *literary* education, the native officers of our regiments never dream of aspiring to anything more than is now held out to them, and the mass of the soldiers are inspired with devotion to the service, and every feeling with which we could wish to have them inspired, by the hope of becoming officers in time, if they discharge their duties faithfully and zealously. Deprive the mass of this hope, give the commissions to an *exclusive class* of natives, or to a favoured few, chosen often, if not commonly, without reference to the feelings or qualifications we most want in our native officers, and our native army will soon cease to have the same feelings of devotion towards the government, and of attachment and respect towards their European officers, that they now have. The young, ambitious, and aspiring native officers will soon try to teach the great mass, that their interest and that of the European officers and European government are by no means one and the same, as they have been hitherto led to suppose; and it is upon the good feeling of this great mass that we have to depend for support. To secure this good feeling, we can well afford to sacrifice a little efficiency at the drill. It was unwise in one of our commanders-in-chief to direct, that no soldier in our Bengal native regiments should be promoted unless he could read and write—it was to prohibit the promotion of the best, and direct the promotion of the worst soldiers in the ranks. In India a military

officer is rated as a gentleman by his birth, that is, *caste*, and by his deportment in all his relations of life—not by his *knowledge of books*.

The Rajpoot, the Brahman, and the proud Pythan who attains a commission, and deports himself like an officer, never thinks himself, or is thought by others, deficient in anything that constitutes the gentleman, because he happens not to be at the same time a clerk. He has from his childhood been taught to consider the quill and the sword as two distinct professions—both useful and honourable when honourably pursued,—and having chosen the sword, he thinks he does quite enough in learning how to use and support it through all grades, and ought not to be expected to encroach on the profession of the penman. This is a tone of feeling which it is clearly the interest of government rather to foster than discourage; and the order which militated so much against it, has happily been either rescinded or disregarded.

Three-fourths of the recruits for our Bengal native infantry are drawn from the Rajpoot peasantry of the kingdom of Oude, on the left bank of the Ganges, where their affections have been linked to the soil for a long series of generations. The good feelings of the families from which they are drawn, continue, through the whole period of their service, to exercise a salutary influence over their conduct as men and as soldiers. Though they never take their families with them, they visit them on furlough every

two or three years, and always return to them when the surgeon considers a change of air necessary to their recovery from sickness. Their family circles are always present to their imaginations; and the recollections of their last visit, the hopes of the next, and the assurance, that their conduct as men and as soldiers in the interval will be reported to those circles by their many comrades, who are annually returning on furlough to the same parts of the country, tend to produce a general and uniform propriety of conduct, that is hardly to be found among the soldiers of any other army in the world, and which seems incomprehensible to those who are unacquainted with its source,—veneration for parents cherished through life, and a never impaired love of home, and of all the dear objects by which it is constituted.

Our Indian native army is perhaps the only *entirely* voluntary standing army that has been ever known, and it is, to all intents and purposes, *entirely* voluntary, and as such must be treated. We can have no other native army in India, and without such an army we could not maintain our dominion a day. Our best officers have always understood this quite well; and they have never tried to flog and harass men out of all that we find good in them for our purposes. Any regiment in our service might lay down their arms and disperse to-morrow, without our having a chance of apprehending one deserter among them all.

When Frederick the Great, of Prussia, reviewed his army of sixty thousand men in Pomerania, previous to his invasion of Silesia, he asked the old Prince d'Anhalt, who accompanied him, what he most admired in the scene before him?

"Sire," replied the prince, "I admire at once the fine appearance of the men, and the regularity and perfection of their movements and evolutions.'

"For my part," said Frederick, "this is not what excites my astonishment, since with the advantage of money, time, and care, these are easily attained. It is that you and I, my dear cousin, should be in the midst of such an army as this in perfect safety! Here are sixty thousand men who are all *irreconcilable enemies to both you and myself;* not one among them that is not a man of more strength, and better armed than either, yet they all tremble at our presence, while it would be folly on our part to tremble at theirs—such is the wonderful effect of order, vigilance, and subordination!"

But a reasonable man might ask, What were the circumstances which enabled Frederick to keep in a state of order and *subordination* an army composed of soldiers, who were "*irreconcilable enemies*" of their Prince and of their officers? He could have told the Prince d'Anhalt, had he chosen to do so; for Frederick was a man who thought deeply. The chief circumstance favourable to his ambition was the utter imbecility of the old French government, then in its dotage, and unable to see, that an army of involun-

tary soldiers was no longer compatible with the state of the nation. This government had reduced its soldiers to a condition worse than that of the common labourers upon the roads, while it deprived them of all hope of rising, and all feeling of pride in the profession.* Desertion became easy from the extension of the French dominion, and from the circumstance of so many belligerent powers around requiring good soldiers; and no odium attended desertion, where everything was done to degrade, and nothing to exalt, the soldier in his own esteem, and that of society.

Instead of following the course of events, and rendering the condition of the soldier less odious, by increasing his pay and hope of promotion, and diminishing the labour and disgrace to which he was liable, and thereby filling her regiments with voluntary soldiers when involuntary ones could be no longer obtained, the government of France reduced the soldier's pay to one-half the rate of wages which a common labourer got on the roads; and put them under restraints and restrictions, that made them feel every day, and every hour, that they were slaves! To prevent desertions by severe examples under this *high pressure system*, they had recourse first to *slitting the noses and cutting off the ears* of deserters; and, lastly, to shooting them as fast as they could catch

* An ordinance, issued in France so late as 1778, required that a man should produce proof of four quarterings of nobility before he could get a commission in the army.

them.* But all was in vain; and Frederick of Prussia alone got fifty thousand of the finest soldiers in the world from the French regiments, who composed one-third of his army, and enabled him to keep all the rest in that state of discipline that improved so much its efficiency, in the same manner as the deserters from the Roman legions, which took place under similar circumstances, became the flower of the army of Mithridates.†

Frederick was in position and disposition a despot. His territories were small, while his ambition was

* "Est et alia causa, cur attenuatæ sint legiones," says Vegetius. "Magnus in illis labor est militandi, graviora arma, sera munera, severior disciplina. Quod Vitantes plerique, in auxiliis festinant militiæ sacramenta percipere, ubi et minor sudor, et maturiora sunt præmia." Lib. ii. cap. 3.

† Montesquieu thought "that the government had better have stuck to the old practice of *slitting noses* and cutting off ears, since the French soldiers, like the Roman dandies under Pompey, must necessarily have a greater *dread* of a disfigured face than of death!" It did not occur to him that France could retain her soldiers by other and better motives. See Spirit of Laws, book vi. chap. 12. See also Necker on the Finances, vol. ii. c. 5; vol. iii. c. 34. A day-labourer on the roads got fifteen sous a day; and a French soldier only six, at the very time that the mortality of an army of forty thousand men sent to the colonies was annually thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three, or about one in three! In our native army the Sipahee gets about double the wages of an ordinary day-labourer; and his duties, when well done, involve just enough of exercise to keep him in health. The casualties are perhaps about one in a hundred.

boundless. He was unable to pay a large army the rate of wages necessary to secure the services of voluntary soldiers; and he availed himself of the happy imbecility of the French government to form an army of involuntary ones. He got French soldiers at a cheap rate, because they dared not return to their native country, whence they were hunted down and shot like dogs, and these soldiers enabled him to retain his own subjects in his ranks upon the same terms. Had the French government retraced its steps, improved the condition of its soldiers, and mitigated the punishment for desertion at any time during the long war, Frederick's army would have fallen to pieces "like the baseless fabric of a vision." "Parmi nous," says Montesquieu, "les desertions sont frequentes parceque les soldats sont *la plus vile partie de chaque nation*, et qu'il n'y en a áucune que ait, ou qui croie avoir un certain avantage sur les autres. Chez les Romains elles etaient plus rares—des soldats tirés du sein d'un peuple si fier, si orgueilleux, si sur de commander aux autres, ne pouvaient guere penser a s'aviler jusqu'a cesser d'etre Romains." * But was it the poor soldiers who were to

* Just precisely what the French soldiers were, after the revolution had purged France of all the "perilous stuff that weighed upon the heart" of its people. Gibbon, in considering the chance of the civilized nations of Europe ever being again overrun by the barbarians from the North, as in the time of the Romans, says—"If a savage conqueror should issue from the deserts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the *robust peasantry* of Russia; the

blame that they were *vile*, and had *no advantage over others*, or the government that took them from the vilest classes, or made their condition when they got them worse than that of the lowest class in society? The Romans deserted under the same circumstances, and, as I have stated, formed the elite of the army of Mithridates and the other enemies of Rome; but they respected their military oath of allegiance long after perjury among senators had ceased to excite any odium, since, as a fashionable or political vice, it had become common.

Did not our day of retribution come, though in a milder shape, to teach us a great political and moral lesson, when so many of our brave sailors deserted our ships for those of America, in which they fought against us? They deserted from our ships of war because they were there treated like dogs; or from our merchant ships, because they were every hour

numerous armies of Germany; the *gallant nobles of France;* and the *intrepid free men* of Britain." Never was a more just, yet more unintended satire upon the state of a country. Russia was to depend upon her *robust peasantry;* Germany upon her *numerous armies;* England upon her *intrepid free men;* but poor France upon her *gallant nobles* alone; because, unhappily, no other part of her vast population was then ever thought of. When the hour of trial came, those pampered nobles, who had no feeling in common with the people, were shaken off "like dew-drops from the lion's mane;" and the hitherto spurned peasantry of France, under the guidance and auspices of men who understood and appreciated them, astonished the world with their prowess.

liable to be seized like felons, and put on board the former. When "England expected every man to do his duty" at Trafalgar, had England done its duty to every man who was that day to fight for her? Is not the intellectual stock which the sailor acquires *in scenes of peril* "upon the high and giddy mast," as much his property as that which others acquire *in scenes of peace* at schools and colleges? And have not our senators, morally and religiously, as much right to authorise their sovereign to seize clergymen, lawyers, and professors for employment in his service, upon the wages of ordinary *uninstructed labour*, as they have to authorise him to seize able sailors to be so employed in her navy? A feeling more base than that which authorised the *able seaman* to be hunted down upon such conditions, torn from his wife and children, and put, like Uriah, in front of those battles upon which our welfare and honour depended, never disgraced any civilised nation with whose history we are acquainted.

Sir Matthew Decker, in a passage quoted by Mr. M'Culloch, says, "The custom of impressment puts a freeborn British sailor on the same footing as a Turkish slave. The grand seignior cannot do a more absolute act than to order a man to be dragged away from his family, and against his will run his head against the mouth of a cannon; and if such acts should be frequent in Turkey, upon any one set of useful men, would it not drive them away to other countries, and thin their numbers yearly? And would

not the remaining few double or triple their wages, which is the case with our sailors in time of war, to the great detriment of our commerce." The Americans wisely relinquished the barbarous and unwise practice of their parent land; and, as M'Culloch observes, "While the wages of all other sorts of labourers and artisans are uniformly higher in the United States than in England, those of sailors are generally lower," as the natural consequence of manning their navy by means of voluntary enlistment alone. At the close of the last war, sixteen thousand British sailors were serving on board of American ships; and the wages of our seamen rose from forty to fifty, to a hundred or one hundred and twenty shillings a month, as the natural consequence of our continuing to resort to impressment after the Americans had given it up.*

Frederick's army consisted of about one hundred and fifty thousand men,—fifty thousand of these were French deserters, and a considerable portion of the remaining hundred thousand were deserters from the Austrian army, in which desertion was punished, in the same manner, with death. The dread of this punishment, if they quitted his ranks, enabled him to keep up that state of discipline that improved so much the efficiency of his regiments, at the same time that it made every individual soldier his "irreconcilable *enemy*." Not relying entirely upon this

* See M'Culloch, Pol. Econ. page 235, first edition, Edinburgh, 1825.

dread on the part of deserters to quit his ranks, under his high pressure system of discipline, and afraid that the soldiers of his own soil might make off in spite of all their vigilance, he kept his regiments in garrison towns till called on actual service; and that they might not desert on their way from one garrison to another during relief, he never had them relieved at all. A trooper was flogged for falling from his horse, though he had broken a limb in his fall—it was difficult, he said, to distinguish an involuntary fault from one that originated in negligence, and to prevent a man hoping that his negligence would be forgiven, all blunders were punished, from whatever cause arising. No soldier was suffered to quit his garrison till led out to fight; and when a desertion took place, cannon were fired to announce it to the surrounding country. Great rewards were given for apprehending, and severe punishments inflicted for harbouring the criminal; and he was soon hunted down, and brought back. A soldier was, therefore, always a prisoner and a slave!

Still, all this rigor of Prussian discipline, like that of our navy, was insufficient to extinguish that ambition which is inherent in our nature, to obtain the esteem and applause of the circle in which we move; and the soldier discharged his duty in the hour of danger, in the hope of rendering his life more happy in the esteem of his officers and comrades. "Every tolerably good soldier feels," says Adam Smith, "that he would become the scorn of his com-

panions if he should be supposed capable of shrinking from danger, or of hesitating either to expose or to throw away his life, when the good of the service required it." So thought the philosopher king of Prussia, when he let his regiments out of garrison, to go and face the enemy! The officers were always treated with as much lenity in the Prussian as any other service, because the king knew that the hope of promotion would always be sufficient to bind them to their duties; but the poor soldiers had no hope of this kind to animate them in their toils and their dangers.

We took our system of drill from Frederick of Prussia; and there is still many a martinet who would carry his high pressure system of discipline into every other service over which he had any control, unable to appreciate the difference of circumstances under which they may happen to be raised and maintained.* The Sipahees of the Bengal army,

* Many German princes adopted the discipline of Frederick in their little petty states, without exactly knowing why, or wherefore. The Prince of Darmstadt conceived a *great passion* for the military art; and when the weather would not permit him to *worry* his little army of five thousand men in the open air, he had them *worried* for his amusement *under sheds*. But he was soon obliged to build a wall round the town in which he drilled his soldiers, for the sole purpose of preventing their running away—round this wall he had a regular chain of sentries to fire at the deserters. Mr. Moore thought the discontent in this little band was greater than in the Prussian army, inasmuch as the soldiers saw no object but the prince's amusement. A fight, or the prospect of a fight, would have been a feast to them.

the only part of our native army with which I am much acquainted, are educated as soldiers from their infancy—they are brought up in that feeling of entire deference for constituted authority which we require in soldiers, and which they never lose through life. They are taken from the agricultural classes of Indian society—almost all the sons of yeomen—cultivating proprietors of the soil, whose families have increased beyond their means of subsistence. One son is sent out after another to seek service in our regiments as necessity presses at home, from whatever cause—the increase of taxation, or the too great increase of numbers in families.* No men can have a higher sense of the duty they owe to the state that employs them, *or whose salt they eat;* nor can any men set less value on life when the service of that state requires that it shall be risked or sacrificed. No persons are brought up with more deference for parents. In no family from which we draw our recruits is a son through infancy, boyhood, or youth, heard to utter a disrespectful word to his parents—such a word from a son to his parents

* Speaking of the question whether recruits drawn from the country or the towns were best, Vegetius says—"De qua parte nunquam credo potuisse dubitari, optiorem armis rusticam plebem, quæ sub divor et in labore nutritur; solis patiens; umbrae negligens; balnearum nescia; deliciarum ignora; simplicisanimi; parvo contenta; duratis ad omnem laborum tolerantiam membris: cui gestari ferrum, fossam ducere, ornis ferre, consuetudo de rure est."—*De re Militari*, lib. i. cap. 3.

would shock the feelings of the whole community in which the family resides, and the offending member would be visited with their highest indignation. When the father dies the eldest son takes his place, and receives the same marks of respect,—the same entire confidence and deference as the father. If he be a soldier in a distant land, and can afford to do so, he resigns the service, and returns home, to take his post as the head of the family. If he cannot afford to resign, if the family still want the aid of his regular monthly pay, he remains with his regiment; and denies himself many of the personal comforts he has hitherto enjoyed, that he may increase his contribution to the general stock.

The wives and children of his brothers, who are absent on service, are confided to his care with the same confidence as to that of the father. It is a rule to which I have through life found but few exceptions, that those who are most disposed to resist constituted authority, are those most disposed to abuse such authority when they get it. The members of these families, disposed, as they always are, to pay deference to such authority, are scarcely ever found to abuse it when it devolves upon them; and the elder son, when he succeeds to the place of his father, loses none of the affectionate attachment of his younger brothers.

They never take their wives or children with them to their regiments, or to the places where their regi-

ments are stationed. They leave them with their fathers or elder brothers, and enjoy their society only when they return on furlough. Three-fourths of their incomes are sent home to provide for their comfort and subsistence, and to embellish that home in which they hope to spend the *winter* of their days. The knowledge, that any neglect of the duty they owe their distant families will be immediately visited by the odium of their native officers and brother soldiers, and ultimately communicated to the heads of these families, acts as a salutary check on their conduct; and I believe that there is hardly a native regiment in the Bengal army, in which the twenty drummers, who are Christians, and have their families with the regiment, do not cause more trouble to the officers than the whole eight hundred Sipahees.

To secure the fidelity of such men, all that is necessary is, to make them feel secure of three things—their regular pay, at the handsome rate at which it has now been fixed; their retiring pensions upon the scale hitherto enjoyed; and promotion by seniority, like their European officers, unless they shall forfeit all claims to it by misconduct or neglect of duty. People talk about a *demoralized* army, and *discontented* army! No army in the world was certainly ever more moral, or more contented, than our native army; or more satisfied that their masters merit all their devotion and attachment; and I believe

none was ever more devoted or attached to them.* I do not speak of the European officers of the native army. They very generally believe that they have had just cause of complaint, and sufficient care has not always been taken to remove that impression. In all the junior grades the honourable Company's officers have advantages over the Queen's in India. In the higher grades the Queen's officers have advantages over those of the honourable Company. The reasons it does not behove me here to consider.

In all armies composed of involuntary soldiers, that is, of soldiers who are anxious to quit the ranks and return to peaceful occupations, but cannot do so, much of the drill to which they are subjected, is adopted merely with a view to keep them from pondering too much upon the miseries of their present condition; and from indulging in those licentious habits to which a strong sense of these miseries, and

* I believe the native army to be better now than it ever was: better in its disposition and in its organization. The men have now a better feeling of assurance than they formerly had, that all their rights will be secured to them by their European officers: that all those officers are men of honour, though they have not all of them the same fellow-feeling that their officers had with them in former days. This is because they have not the same opportunity of seeing their courage and fidelity tried in the same scenes of common danger. Go to Affghanistan and to China, and you will find the feeling between officers and men, as fine as it ever was in days of yore, whatever it may be at our large and gay stations, where they see so little of each other.

the recollection of the enjoyments of peaceful life which they have sacrificed, are too apt to drive them. No portion of this is necessary for the soldiers of our native army, who have no miseries to ponder over, or superior enjoyments in peaceful life to look back upon; and a very small quantity of drill is sufficient to make a regiment of Sipahees go through its evolutions well, because they have all a pride and pleasure in their duties, as long as they have a commanding officer who understands them. Clarke, in his Travels, speaking of the three thousand native infantry from India whom he saw paraded in Egypt under their gallant leader, Sir David Baird, says, "Troops in such a state of military perfection, or better suited for active service, were never seen—not even on the famous parade of the chosen ten thousand belonging to Bonaparte's legions, which he was so vain of displaying before the present war in the front of the Tuileries at Paris. Not an unhealthy soldier was to be seen. The English, inured to the climate of India, considered that of Egypt as temperate in its effects; and the Sipahees seemed as fond of the Nile as the Ganges."

It would be much better to devise more innocent amusements to lighten the miseries of European soldiers in India, than to be worrying them every hour, night and day, with duties, which are in themselves considered to be of no importance whatever, and imposed merely with a view to prevent their having time to ponder on these miseries. But all extra and

useless duties to a soldier become odious, because they are always associated in his mind with the ideas of the odious and degrading punishment inflicted for the neglect of them. It is lamentable to think how much of misery is often wantonly inflicted upon the brave soldiers of our European regiments of India, on the pretence of a desire to preserve *order* and *discipline!* *

Sportsmen know that if they train their horses beyond a certain point, they *train off;* that is, they lose the spirit, and with it the condition they require to support them in the hour of trial. It is the same with soldiers; if drilled beyond a certain point, they *drill off;* and lose the spirit which they require to sustain them in active service, and before the enemy. An over-drilled regiment will seldom go through its evolutions well, even in ordinary review, before its own general. If it has all the mechanism, it wants all the *real spirit* of military discipline, it becomes dogged; and is, in fact, a body without a soul! The martinet, who is seldom a man of much intellect, is satisfied as long as the bodies of his men are drilled to his liking: his narrow mind comprehends only one

* Their commanding officers say, as Pharaoh said to the Israelites, "Let there be more work laid upon them, that they may labour therein; and not enter into vain discourses." Life to such men becomes intolerable; and they either destroy themselves, or commit murder, that they may be taken to a distant court for trial.

of the principles which influence mankind—*fear;* and upon this he acts with all the pertinacity of a slave driver. If he does not disgrace himself when he comes before the enemy, as he commonly does, by his own incapacity, his men will perhaps try to disgrace him, even at the sacrifice of what they hold dearer than their lives—their reputation. The real soldier, who is generally a man of mere intellect, cares more about the feelings than the bodies of his men: he wants to command their affections as well as their limbs; and he inspires them with a feeling of enthusiasm that renders them insensible to all danger—such men were Lord Lake, and Generals Ochterlony, Malcolm, and Adams, and such are many others, well known in India.

Under the martinet, the soldiers will never do more than what a due regard for *their own reputation* demands from them before the enemy, and will sometimes do less. Under the real soldier, they will always do more than this: *his reputation* is dearer to them even than their own; and they will do more to sustain it. The army of the consul, Appius Claudius, exposed themselves to almost inevitable destruction before the enemy, to disgrace him in the eyes of his country, and the few survivors were decimated on their return: he cared nothing for the *spirit* of his men. The army of his colleague, Quintius, on the contrary, though from the same people, and levied and led out at the same time, covered him with

glory, because they loved him.* We had an instance of this in the war with Nepaul, in 1815, in which a king's regiment played the part of the army of Appius. There were other martinets, king's and company's, commanding divisions in that war, and they all signally failed; not however, except in the above one instance, from backwardness on the part of their troops, but from utter incapacity when the hour of trial came. Those who succeeded were men always noted for caring something more about the hearts than the whiskers and buttons of their men. That the officer who delights in harassing his regiment in times of peace, will fail with it in times of war, and scenes of peril, seems to me to be a rule almost as well established, as that he, who in the junior ranks of the army delights most to kick against authority,

* See Livy, lib. ii. cap. 59. The infantry under Fabius had refused to conquer, that their general, whom they hated, might not triumph; but the whole army under Claudius, whom they had more cause to detest, not only refused to conquer, but determined to be conquered, that he might be involved in their disgrace. All the abilities of Lucullus, one of the ablest generals Rome ever had, were rendered almost useless by his disregard to the feelings of his soldiers. He could not perceive that the civil wars, under Marius and Sylla, had rendered a different treatment of Roman soldiers necessary to success in war. Pompey, his successor, a man of inferior military genius, succeeded much better, because he had the sagacity to see that he now required, not only the *confidence*, but the affections of his soldiers. Cæsar, to abilities even greater than those of Lucullus, united the conciliatory spirit of Pompey.

is always found the most disposed to abuse it when he gets to the higher. In long intervals of peace, the only prominent military characters are commonly such martinets; and hence the failures so generally experienced in the beginning of a war after such an interval. Whitelocks are chosen for command, and disasters follow, till Wolfes and Wellingtons find Chathams and Wellesleys to climb up by.

To govern those, whose mental and physical energies we require for our subsistence or support, by the fear of the lash alone, is so easy, so simple a mode of bending them to our will, and making them act strictly and instantly in conformity to it, that it is not at all surprising to find so many of those who have been accustomed to it, and are not themselves liable to have the lash inflicted upon them, advocating its free use. In China the Emperor has his generals flogged; and finds the lash so efficacious in bending them to his will, that nothing would persuade him that it could ever be safely dispensed with! In some parts of Germany, they had the officers flogged; and princes and generals found this so very efficacious in making those act in conformity to their will, that they found it difficult to believe, that any army could be well managed without it! In other Christian armies, the officers are exempted from the lash, but they use it freely upon all under them; and it would be exceedingly difficult to convince the greater part of these officers, that

the free use of the lash is not indispensably necessary, nay, that the men do not themselves like to be flogged, as eels like to be skinned, when they once get used to it. Ask the slave-holders of the southern states of America, whether any society can be well constituted unless the greater part of those upon the sweat of whose brow the community depends for their subsistence, are made by law liable to be bought, sold, and driven to their daily labour with the lash: they will one and all say, no; and yet there are doubtless many very excellent and amiable persons among those slave-holders. If our army, as at present constituted, cannot do without the free use of the lash, let its constitution be altered; for no nation with free institutions should suffer its soldiers to be flogged. "Laudabiliores tamen duces sunt, quorum exercitus ad modestiam labor et usus instituit, quam illi quorum milites, ad obedientiam, suppliciorum formido compellit."*

Though I reprobate that wanton severity of discipline in which the substance is sacrificed to the form, in which unavoidable and trivial offences are punished as deliberate and serious crimes, and the spirit of the soldier is entirely disregarded, while the motion of his limbs, cut of his whiskers, and the buttons of his coat are scanned with microscopic eye, I must not be thought to advocate idleness. If we

* If corporal punishment be retained at all, it should be limited to the two offences I have already mentioned.—*Vegetius de re Militari, lib.* iii. *cap.* 4.

find the Sipahees of a native regiment, as we sometimes do at a *healthy* and *cheap* station, become a little unruly, like schoolboys, and ask an old native officer the reason, he will probably answer others as he has me, by another question—"*Ghora ara keoon? Panee sura keoon?*." "Why does the horse become vicious? why does the water become putrid?" *for want of exercise.* Without proper attention to this exercise, no regiment is ever kept in order; nor has any commanding officer ever the respect or the affections of his men unless they see that he understands well all the duties which his government intrusts to him; and is resolved to have them performed in all situations, and under all circumstances. There are always some bad characters in a regiment, to take advantage of any laxity of discipline, and lead astray the younger soldiers, whose spirits have been rendered exuberant by good health and good feeding; and there is hardly any crime to which they will not try to excite these young men, under an officer careless about the discipline of his regiment, or disinclined, from a mistaken *esprit du corps*, or any other cause, to have those crimes traced home to them, and punished.*

* Polibius says, "that as the human body is apt to get out of order under good feeding and little exercise, so are states and armies." B. 11. chap. 6.—Wherever food is cheap, and the air good, native regiments should be well exercised, without being worried.

I must here take the liberty to give an extract from a letter

There can be no question, that a good tone of feeling between the European officers and their men

from one of the best and most estimable officers now in the Bengal army:—"As connected with the discipline of the native army, I may here remark, that I have for some years past observed, on the part of many otherwise excellent commanding officers, a great want of attention to the instruction of the young European officers on first joining their regiments. I have had ample opportunities of seeing the great value of a regular course of instruction drill for at least six months. When I joined my first regiment, which was about forty years ago, I had the good fortune to be under a commandant and adjutant who, happily for me and many others, attached great importance to this very necessary course of instruction. I then acquired a thorough knowledge of my duties, which led to my being appointed an adjutant very early in life. When I attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, I had however opportunities of observing, how very much this essential duty had been neglected in certain regiments; and made it a rule in all that I commanded to keep all young officers, on first joining, at the instruction drill till thoroughly grounded in their duties. Since I ceased to command a regiment, I have taken advantage of every opportunity to express to those commanding officers, with whom I have been in correspondence, my conviction of the great advantages of this system to the rising generation. In going from one regiment to another, I found many curious instances of ignorance on the part of young officers, who had been many years with their corps. It was by no means an easy task at first to convince them that they really knew nothing, or at least had a great deal to learn; but when they were made sensible of it, they many of them turned out excellent officers, and now I believe bless the day they were first put under me."

The advantages of the system here mentioned, cannot be questioned; and it is much to be regretted, that it is not strictly enforced in every regiment in the service. Young officers may find

is essential to the well-being of our native army; and I think I have found this tone somewhat impaired whenever our native regiments are concentrated at large stations. In such places the European society is commonly large and gay; and the officers of our native regiments become too much occupied in its pleasures and ceremonies, to attend to their native officers or sipahees. In Europe there are separate classes of people, who subsist by catering for the amusements of the higher circles of society, in theatres, operas, concerts, balls, &c. &c.; but in India this duty devolves entirely upon the young civil and military officers of the government, and at large stations it really is a very *laborious* one, which often takes up the whole of a young man's time. The ladies must have amusement; and the officers must find it for them, because there are no other persons to undertake the *arduous duty*. The consequence is, that they often become entirely alienated from their men; and betray signs of the greatest impatience, while they listen to the necessary reports of their native officers, as they come on or go off duty.

It is different when regiments are concentrated for active service. Nothing tends so much to improve the tone of feeling between the European

it irksome at first; but they soon become sensible of the advantages, and learn to applaud the commandant who has had the firmness to consult their permanent interests more than their present inclinations.

officers and their men, and between European soldiers and sipahees, as the concentration of forces on actual service, where the same hopes animate, and the same dangers unite them in common bonds of sympathy and confidence. "Utrique alteris freti, finitumos arimis aut metu sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere." After the campaigns under Lord Lake, a native regiment passing Dinapore, where the gallant King's 76th, with whom they had often fought side by side, was cantoned, invited the soldiers to a grand entertainment provided for them by the sipahees. They consented to go, on one condition,—that the sipahees should see them all back safe before morning. Confiding in their sable friends, they all got gloriously drunk, but found themselves lying every man upon his proper cot in his own barracks in the morning. The sipahees had carried them all home upon their shoulders. Another native regiment, passing within a few miles of a hill on which they had buried one of their European officers after that war, solicited permission to go and make their *salam* to the tomb, and all went who were off duty.

The system which now keeps the greater part of our native infantry at small stations of single regiments in times of peace, tends to preserve this good tone of feeling between officers and men; at the same time that it promotes the general welfare of the country, by giving confidence everywhere to the peaceful and industrious classes.

I will not close this chapter without mentioning one thing, which I have no doubt that every Company's officer in India will concur with me in thinking desirable, to improve the good feeling of the native soldiery,—that is, an increase to the pay of the Jemadars. They are commissioned officers; and seldom attain the rank in less than from twenty-five to thirty years;* and they have to provide themselves with clothes of the same costly description as those of the Subadar; to be as well mounted, and in all respects to keep up the same respectability of appearance, while their pay is only *twenty-four rupees and a half a month;* that is, ten rupees a month only more than they had been receiving in the grade of Havildars, which is not sufficient to meet the additional expenses to which they become liable as commissioned officers. Their means of remittance to their families are rather diminished than increased by promotion; and but few of them can hope ever to reach the next grade of Subadar. Our government, which has of late been so liberal to its native civil officers, will I hope soon take into consideration the claims of this class, who are universally admitted to be the worst paid class of native public officers in India. Ten rupees a month addition to their pay

* There are, I believe, many Jemadars who still wear medals on their breasts, for their service in the taking of Java and the Isle of France, more than thirty years ago. Indeed I suspect that some will be found who accompanied Sir David Baird to Egypt.

would be of great importance;—it would enable them to impart some of the advantages of their promotion to their families; and improve the good feeling of the circles around them towards the government they serve.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INVALID ESTABLISHMENT.

I HAVE said nothing in the foregoing chapter of the invalid establishment, which is probably the greatest of all bonds of union between the government and its native army; and consequently the greatest element in the "spirit of discipline." Bonaparte, who was, perhaps, with all his faults, "the greatest man that ever floated on the tide of time," said at Elba, "There is not even a village that has not brought forth a general, a colonel, a captain, or a prefect, who has raised himself by his especial merit, and illustrated at once his family and his country." Now we know, that the families and the village communities, in which our invalid pensioners reside, never read newspapers, and feel but little interest in the victories in which these pensioners may have shared. They feel, that they have no share in the *eclat* or glory which attend them; but they everywhere admire and respect the government

which cherishes its faithful old servants, and enables them to spend "the winter of their days" in the bosoms of their families; and they spurn the man who has failed in his duty towards that government in the hour of need. No sipahee taken from the Rajpoot communities of Oude, or any other part of the country, can hope to conceal from his family circle, or village community, any act of cowardice, or of anything else which is considered disgraceful to a soldier, or to escape the odium which it merits in that circle and community.

In the year 1819, I was encamped near a village, in marching through Oude, when the landlord, a very cheerful old man, came up to me with his youngest son, a lad of eighteen years of age, and requested him to allow him (the son) to show me the best shooting grounds in the neighbourhood. I took my "Joe Maton," and went out. The youth showed me some very good ground; and I found him an agreeable companion, and an excellent shot with his matchlock. On our return, we found the old man waiting for us. He told me that he had four sons, all, by God's blessing, *tall enough* for the Company's service, in which one had attained the rank of havildar, (serjeant,) and two were still sipahees. Their wives and children lived with him; and they sent home every month two-thirds of their pay, which enabled him to pay all the rent of the estate, and appropriate the whole of the annual returns to the subsistence and comfort of the numerous family. He

was, he said, now growing old, and wished his eldest son, the serjeant, to resign the service and come home to take upon him the management of the estate. That as soon as he could be prevailed upon to do so, his old wife would permit my sporting companion, her youngest son, to enlist, but not before.

I was on my way to visit Fyzabad, the old metropolis of Oude, and on returning a month afterwards, in the latter end of January, I found that the wheat, which was all then in ear, had been destroyed by a severe frost. The old man wept bitterly; and he and his old wife yielded to the wishes of their youngest son, to accompany me and enlist in my regiment, which was then stationed at Fertaubgur.

We set out, but were overtaken at the third stage by the poor old man, who told me that his wife had not eaten or slept since the boy left her, and that he must go back and wait for the return of his eldest brother, or she certainly would not live. The lad obeyed the call of his parents, and I never saw or heard of the family again.

There is hardly a village in the kingdom of Oude without families like this, depending upon the good conduct and liberal pay of sipahees in our infantry regiments; and revering the name of the government they serve, or have served. Similar villages are to be found scattered over the province of Behar and Benares, the districts between the Ganges and Jumna, and other parts where Rajpoots, and the

other classes from whom we draw our recruits, have been long established as proprietors and cultivators of the soil.

These are the feelings on which the spirit of discipline in our native army chiefly depends, and which we shall, I hope, continue to cultivate, as we have always hitherto done, with care; and a commander must take a great deal of pains to make his men miserable, before he can render them, like the soldiers of Frederick, "*the irreconcilable enemies of their officers and their government.*"

In the year 1817, I was encamped in a grove on the right bank of the Ganges, below Monghyr, when the Marquis of Hastings was proceeding up the river in his fleet, to put himself at the head of the grand division of the army, then about to take the field against the Pindaries, and their patrons, the Mahratta chiefs. Here I found an old native pensioner, above a hundred years of age. He had fought under Lord Clive at the battle of Plassey, A. D. 1757, and was still a very cheerful, talkative old gentlemen, though he had long lost the use of his eyes. One of his sons, a grey-headed old man, and a Subadar (captain) in a regiment of native infantry, had been at the taking of Java, and was now come home on leave, to visit his father. Other sons had risen to the rank of commissioned officers, and their families formed the aristocracy of the neighbourhood. In the evening, as the fleet approached, the old gentleman, dressed in his full uniform of former days as a commissioned

officer, had himself taken out close to the bank of the river, that he might be once more, during his life, *within sight* of a British commander-in-chief, though he could no longer see one! There the old patriarch sat listening with intense delight to the remarks of the host of his descendants around him, as the Governor-general's magnificent fleet passed along, every one fancying that he had caught a glimpse of the great man, and trying to describe him to the old gentleman, who in return, told them (no doubt for the thousandth time) what sort of a person the great Lord Clive was. His son, the old Subadar, now and then, with modest deference, venturing to imagine a resemblance between one or the other, and his *beau ideal* of a great man, Lord Lake. Few things in India have interested me more than scenes like these.

I have no means of ascertaining the number of military pensioners in England, or in any other European nation, and cannot, therefore, state the proportion which they bear to the actual number of the forces kept up. The military pensioners in our Bengal establishment, on the first of May 1841, were 22,381; and the family pensioners, or heirs of soldiers killed in action 1730: total 24,111, out of an army of 82,027 men. I question whether the number of retired soldiers, maintained at the expense of government, bears so large a proportion to the number actually serving in any other nation on earth. Not one of the twenty-four thousand has

been brought on, or retained upon, the list from political interest, or court favour: every one receives his pension for long and faithful services, after he has been pronounced, by a board of European surgeons, as no longer fit for the active duties of his profession; or gets it for the death of a father, husband, or son, who has been killed in the service of government.

All are allowed to live with their families; and European officers are stationed at central points in the different parts of the country, where they are most numerous, to pay them their stipends every six months. These officers are at—1st, Barrackpore; 2nd, Dinapore; 3rd, Allahabad; 4th, Lucknow; 5th, Meerut. From these central points they move twice a year to the several other points within their respective circles of payment, where the pensioners can most conveniently attend to receive their money on certain days, so that none of them have to go far, or to employ any expensive means to get it—it is, in fact, brought home as near as possible to their doors by a considerate and liberal government.

Every soldier is entitled to a pension when pronounced by a board of surgeons as no longer fit for the active duties of his profession, after fifteen years' service; but to be entitled to the pension of his rank in the army, he must have served in such rank for three years. Till he has done so, he is entitled only to the pension of that immediately below it. A sipahee gets four rupees a month, that is about one-

fourth more than the ordinary wages of common uninstructed labour throughout the country. But it will be better to give the rate of the pay of the native officers and men of our native infantry, and that of their retired pensions in one table.

Table of the rate of the pay and retired pensions of the native officers and soldiers of our native infantry.	Rate of pay per mensem.		Rate of pension per mensem.	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
A Sipahee, or private soldier, (after 16y ears' service 8 rupees a month, after 20 years he gets 9 rupees a month) . . .	7	0	4	0
A Naek, or corporal	12	0	7	0
A Havildar, or serjeant	14	0	7	0
A Jemadar, (subaltern commissioned officer)	24	8	13	0
Subadar, (or captain)	67	0	25	0
Subadar major	92	0	0	0
A Subadar, after 40 years' service . .	0	0	50	0
A Sirdar Bahader of the order of British India, 1st class, two rupees a day extra; 2nd class, one rupee a day extra. This extra allowance they enjoy after they retire from the service during life.				

The circumstances which, in the estimation of the people, distinguish the British from all other rules in India, and make it grow more and more upon their affections, are these:—The security which public servants enjoy in the tenure of their office; the prospect they have of advancement by the gradation of rank; the regularity and liberal scale of their pay; and the provision for old age, when they have discharged the duties entrusted to them ably and faithfully. In a native state almost every public officer

knows, that he has no chance of retaining his office beyond the reign of the present minister or favourite; and that no present minister or favourite can calculate upon retaining his ascendency over the mind of his chief for more than a few months or years. Under us, they see secretaries to government, members of council, and Governors-general themselves going out and coming into office without causing any change in the position of their subordinates, or even the apprehension of anyc hange, as long as they discharge their duties ably and faithfully.

In a native state the new minister or favourite brings with him a whole host of expectants, who must be provided for as soon as he takes the helm; and if all the favourites of his predecessor do not voluntarily vacate their offices for them, he either turns them out without ceremony, or his favourites very soon concoct charges against them, which causes them to be turned out in due form, and perhaps put into jail till they have "paid the uttermost farthing." Under us the Governors-general, members of council, the secretaries of state, the members of the judicial and revenue boards, all come into office, and take their seats unattended by a single expectant. No native officer of the revenue or judicial department, who is conscious of having done his duty ably and honestly, feels the slightest uneasiness at the change.

The consequence is a degree of integrity in public officers never before known in India; and rarely to be found in any other country. In the province

where I now write, which consists of six districts, there are twenty-two native judicial officers, Moonsifs, Sudder Ameens, and principal Sudder Ameens; and in the whole province I have never heard a suspicion breathed against one of them; nor do I believe that the integrity of one of them is at this time suspected. The only one suspected within the two and half years that I have been in the province, was, I grieve to say, a Christian; and he has been removed from office, to the great satisfaction of the people, and is never to be employed again.

The only department in which our native public servants do not enjoy the same advantages of security in the tenure of their office, prospect of rise in the gradation of rank, liberal scale of pay, and provision for old age, is *the police;* and it is admitted on all hands, that there they are everywhere exceedingly corrupt. Not one of them, indeed, ever thinks it possible that he can be *supposed honest;* and those who really are so, are looked upon as a kind of *martyrs or penitents*, who are determined, by long suffering, to atone for past crimes; and who if they could not get into the police, would probably go long pilgrimages upon all fours, or with unboiled peas in their shoes.

He who can suppose that men so inadequately paid, who have no promotion to look forward to, and feel no security in their tenure of office, and, consequently, no hope of a provision for old age, will be zealous and honest in the discharge of their duties, must be very imperfectly acquainted with human

nature,—with the motives by which men are influenced all over the world. Indeed no man does in reality suppose so; on the contrary, every man knows, that the same motives actuate public servants in India as elsewhere. We have acted successfully upon this knowledge in all other branches of the public service, and shall, I trust, at no distant period act upon the same in that of the police; and then, and not till then, can it prove to the people what we must all wish it to be,—a blessing.

The European magistrate of a district has perhaps a million of people to look after. The native officers next under him are the Thanadars of the different subdivisions of the district, containing each many towns and villages, with a population of perhaps one hundred thousand people. These officers have no grade to look forward to; and get a salary of *twenty-five rupees a month each!*

They cannot possibly do their duties unless they keep each a couple of horses or ponies, with servants to attend to them, indeed they are told so by every magistrate who cares about the peace of his district. The people, seeing how much we expect from the Thanadar, and how little we give him, submit to his demands for contribution without a murmur; and consider almost any demand venial from a man so employed and so paid. They are confounded at our inconsistency; and say, where they dare to speak their minds—"We see you giving high salaries, and high prospects of advancement to men who have

nothing on earth to do but to collect your revenues and to decide our disputes about pounds, shillings, and pence, which we used to decide much better among ourselves when we had no other court but that of our elders to appeal to; while those who are to protect life and property, to keep peace over the land, and enable the industrious to work in security, maintain their families and pay the government revenue, are left without any prospect whatever of rising, and almost without any pay at all."

There is really nothing in our rule in India which strikes the people so much as this glaring inconsistency, the evil effects of which are so great and so manifest. The only way to remedy the evil is, to give to the police what the other branches of the public service already enjoy,—a feeling of security in the tenure of office; a higher rate of salary; and above all a gradation of rank which shall afford a prospect of rising to those who discharge their duties ably and honestly. For this purpose all that is required is, the interposition of an officer between the Thanadar and the magistrate, in the same manner as the Sudder Ameen is now interposed between the Moonsiff and the judge.* On an average there are

* Hobbes, in his Leviathan, says, "And seeing that the end of punishment is not revenge and discharge of choler; but correction either of the offender or of others by his example; the severest punishments are to be inflicted for those crimes that are of most danger to the public; such as are those which proceed from malice to the government established; those that spring

perhaps twelve Thanas, or police subdivisions in each district; and one such officer to every four Thanas would be sufficient for all purposes. The Governor-general who shall confer this boon on the people of India, will assuredly be hailed as one of their greatest benefactors. I should, I believe, speak within bounds when I say, that the Thanadars throughout the country, give, at present, more than all the money which they receive in avowed salaries from government, as a share of indirect perquisites to the native officers of the magistrate's court, who have to send their reports to them, and communicate their orders, and prepare the cases of the prisoners they may send in, for commitment to the sessions courts. Were they not to do so, few of them would be in office a month. The intermediate officers here proposed,

from justice; *those that provoke indignation in the multitude; and those, which unpunished, seem authorised, as when they are committed by sons, servants, or favourites of men in power. For indignation carrieth men not only against all actors and authors of injustice, but against all power that is likely to protect them,* as in the case of Tarquin, when, for the insolent act of his son, he was driven out of Rome; and the monarchy itself dissolved." Part 2nd, Sec. 30.

Almost every Thanadar in our dominions is a little Tarquin in his way, exciting the indignation of the people against his master. When we give him the proper incentives to good, we shall be able, with better conscience, to punish him severely for bad conduct. The interposition of the officers I propose between him and the magistrate, will give him the required incentive to good conduct, at the same time that it will deprive him of all hope of concealing his "evil ways," should he continue in them.

would obviate all this, they would be to the magistrate at once the *tapis* of prince Hosain, and the *telescope* of prince Alee,—media that would enable them to be everywhere, and see everything!

I may here seem to be "travelling beyond the record;" but it is not so. In treating on the spirit of military discipline in our native army, I advocate, as much as in me lies, the great general principle upon which rests, I think, not only our *power* in India, but what is more,—the *justification of that power*. It is our wish, as it is our interest, to give to the Hindoos and Mahomedans a liberal share in all the duties of administration,—in all offices, civil and military; and to show the people in general, the incalculable advantages of a strong and settled government, which can secure life, property, and character, and the free enjoyment of all their blessings, throughout the land; and give to those who perform duties as public servants ably and honestly, a sure prospect of rising by gradation, a feeling of security in their tenure of office, a liberal scale of salary while they serve, and a respectable provision for old age.

It is by a steady adherence to these principles that the Indian civil service has been raised to its present high character for integrity and ability; and the native army made what it really is, faithful and devoted to its rulers, and ready to serve them in any quarter of the world. I deprecate any innovation upon these principles in the branches of the public service to which they have been already

applied with such eminent success; and I advocate their extension to all other branches, as the surest means of making them what they ought, and what we must all most fervently wish them to be.

The native officers of our judicial and revenue establishments, or of our native army, are every where a bond of union between the governing and the governed. Discharging everywhere honestly and ably their duties to their employers, they tend everywhere to secure to them the respect and the affections of the people. His highness Mahomed Sueed Khan, the reigning Nawab of Rampore, still talks with pride of the days when he was one of our *deputy collectors* in the adjoining district of Bhudown; and of the useful knowledge he acquired in that office. He has still one brother, a Sudder Ameen in the district of Mynporee, and another a deputy collector in the Humeerpore district; and neither would resign his situation under the honourable Company, to take office in Rampore, at three times the rate of salary, when invited to do so on the accession of the eldest brother to the musnud. What they now enjoy, they owe to their own industry and integrity; and they are proud to serve a government, which supplies them with so many motives for honest exertion; and leaves them nothing to fear, as long as they exert themselves honestly. To be in a situation, which it is generally understood that none but honest and able men can fill, is of itself a source of pride; and the sons of

native princes, and men of rank, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, everywhere prefer taking office in our judicial and revenue establishments to serving under native rulers, where everything depends entirely upon the favour or frown of men in power, and ability, industry, and integrity can secure nothing.

NOTES.

[In consequence of this work not having had the advantage of the author's superintendence while passing through the press, and of the manuscript having reached England in insulated portions, some errors and omissions have unavoidably taken place, a few of which the following notes are intended to rectify or supply.]

VOLUME I. CHAPTER III.—*Page* 40.

Charles Harding, of the Bengal civil service, as magistrate of Benares, in 1816, prevented the widow of a Brahman from being burned. Twelve months after her husband's death, she had been goaded by her family into the expression of a wish to burn with some relic of her husband, preserved for the purpose. The pile was raised for her at Ramnuggur, some two miles above Benares, on the opposite side of the river Ganges. She was not well secured upon the pile; and, as soon as she felt the fire, she jumped off, and plunged into the river. The people all ran after her along the bank; but the current drove her towards Benares, whence a police boat put off, and

took her in. She was almost dead with the fright, and the water, in which she had been kept afloat by her clothes; she was taken to Harding; but the whole city of Benares was in an uproar, at the rescue of a Brahman's widow from the funeral pile, for such it had been considered, though the man had been a year dead. Thousands surrounded his house, and his court was filled with the principal men of the city, imploring him to surrender the woman; and among the rest was the poor woman's *father*, who declared that *he* could not support his daughter; and that she had, therefore, better be burned, as her husband's family would no longer receive her. The uproar was quite alarming to a young man, who felt all the responsibility upon himself in such a city of Benares, with a population of three hundred thousand people, so prone to popular insurrections, or risings *en masse* very like them. He long argued the point of the time that had elapsed, and the unwillingness of the woman, but in vain; until at last the thought struck him suddenly, and he said, "That the sacrifice was manifestly unacceptable to their God—that the sacred river, as such, had rejected her; she had, without being able to swim, floated down two miles upon its bosom, in the face of an immense multitude; and it was clear that she had been rejected! Had she been an acceptable sacrifice, after the fire had touched her, the river would have received her!" This satisfied the whole crowd. The father said that, after this unanswerable argument, he would receive his daughter; and the whole crowd dispersed satisfied.

Volume I. Chapter XXXVI.—*Page* 342.

In the description of the author's encampment at Gwalior, he fell into a mistake, which he discovered too

late for correction in his journal. His tents were not pitched within the Phool Bag, as he supposed, but without; and seeing nothing of this place, he imagined that the dirty and naked ground outside was actually the flower garden. The Phool Bag, however, is a very pleasing and well-ordered garden, although so completely secluded from observation by lofty walls, that many other travellers must have encamped on the same spot without being aware of its existence.

VOLUME II. CHAPTER XXVIII.—*Page* 406, *note.*

By Act 23, of 1839, passed by the Legislative Council of India, on the 23rd of September, it is made competent for court-martials to sentence soldiers of the native army in the service of the East India Company, to the punishment of dismissal, and to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding two years, if the sentence be pronounced by a general court-martial; and not exceeding one year, if by a garrison or line court-martial; and not exceeding six months, if by a regimental or detachment court-martial. Imprisonment for any period with hard labour, or for a term exceeding six months without hard labour, to involve dismissal. Act 2, of 1840, provides for such sentences of imprisonment being carried into execution by the magistrates or other officers in charge of the gaols.

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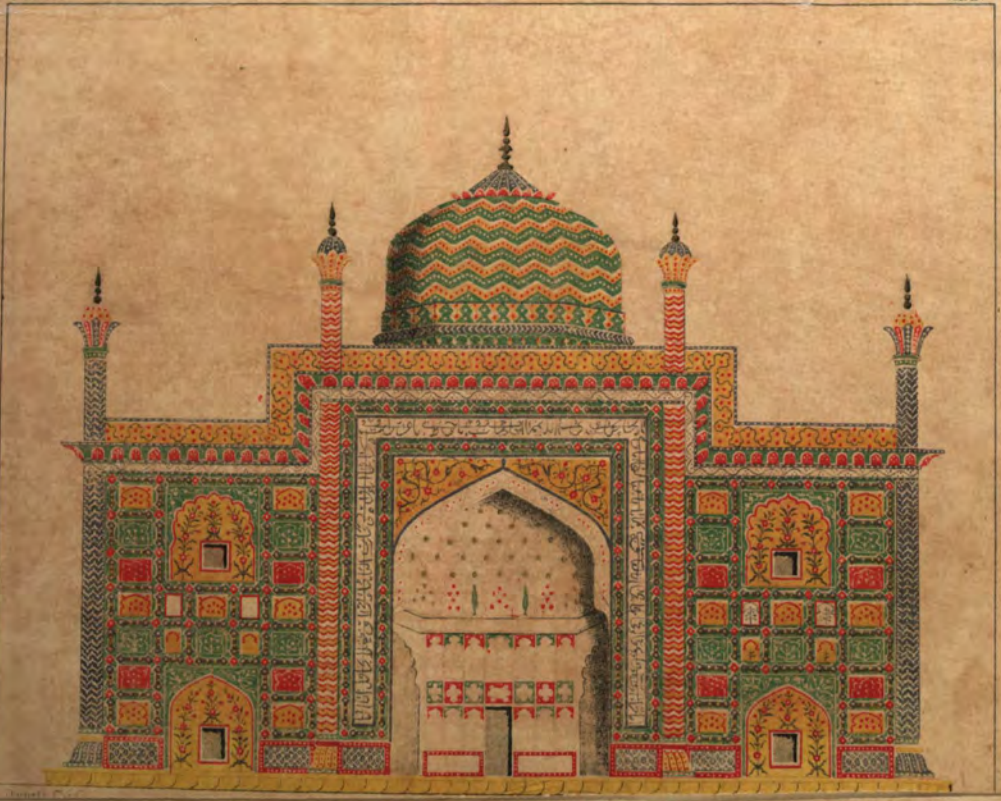
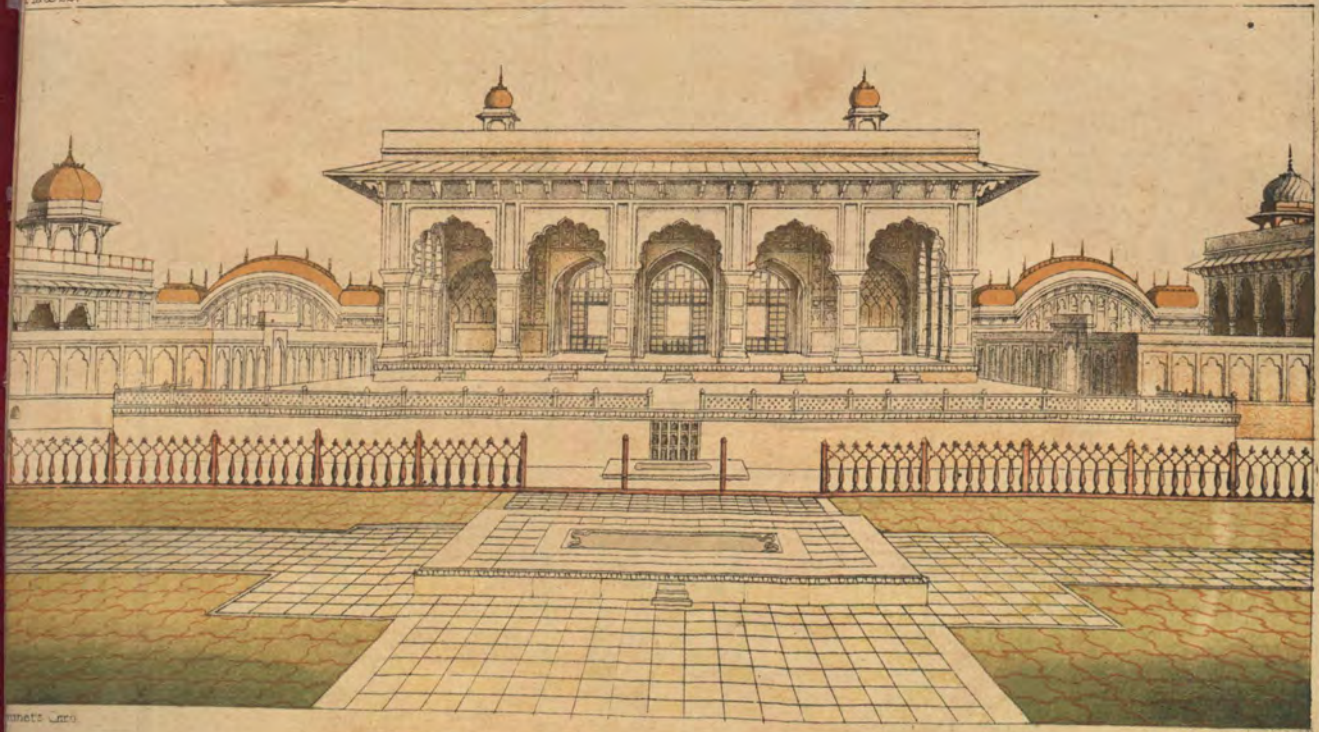


Plate 22.



DEWAN KHAN'S PALACE AT DELHI.

TOMB OF HOOMAEEOON.

MAUSOLEUM
of
NIZAMOODEEN OULEEA.

TOMB OF THE SAINT SALEEM
at
FUTTEHPORE SECREE.

MAUSOLEUM
OF THE
POET KHUSROO.

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